

HOW AL-BUḤĀRĪ'S ṢAḤĪḤ WAS EDITED IN THE MIDDLE AGES: 'ALĪ AL-YŪNĪNĪ AND HIS RUMŪZ

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INTRODUCTION¹

The Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Buḥārī, containing the Tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad (*ḥadīṭ*),² is undoubtedly one of the most influential works of Muslim culture. It was copied innumerable times. Even if we assume that it was more or less definitely redacted by al-Buḥārī, it inevitably underwent alterations in the process of circulation. As early as the 13th century, Muslim traditionists were aware of the difficulties of referring to an authentic text of the Ṣaḥīḥ. An edition in the modern sense, i.e. the production of identical copies, could not be realized before the invention of the printing-press.

Books on *ḥadīṭ*, as well as on other fields of knowledge, were studied through reading by or before the author or an authorized master, who corrected the reading if necessary. Students wrote down the lecture, or compared it with copies which they already possessed. When they had heard the book (or parts of it) or read it aloud before the master, they received a certificate of audition (*samā'*) from the master and a licence (*iğāza*) to transmit the book (or parts of it) on their part.³ By the time of al-Buḥārī, people could also obtain an *iğāza* without having heard the reading of the book,⁴ but the *samā'* was appreciated more.⁵ Alterations of the text could be caused by differences in presentation by the author in different classes, by discrepancies between written records of pupils and by mistakes, additions, omissions, or falsifications by transmitters and copyists.⁶

So, several generations after al-Buḥārī, different versions of his collection circulated in the Muslim world. As Johann Fück pointed out in his treatise, *Beiträge zur*

1. I want to thank the director of the Oriental Department of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, very much for permission to publish the manuscript Hs. or. 4460 (cf. my *Arabische Handschriften*, n° 60) as well as to use copies of the manuscripts Spr. 908, fol. 47a (cf. Ahlwardt n° 150) and WE 160, fol. 1b-4a (cf. Ahlwardt n° 1147). I am also grateful to Professor Dr. Ewald Wagner, University of Giessen, for some valuable advice.

2. In this study, the term *ḥadīṭ* is not translated. In the following, the word "tradition" designates the path of *ḥadīṭ* transmission.

3. For the method of transmission and teaching, v. Schoeler: *Frage* 204-205, 224-228; id.: *Mündliche Thora* 237; Makdisi 140-145.

4. Goldziher 188-193.

5. Cf. *infra* facsimile fol. 7b line 22 the formulation *iğāzat^{an} in lam yakun samā'^{an}* ("by *iğāza* though not by *samā'*").

6. Schoeler: *Weiteres* 39.

*Überlieferungsgeschichte von Buḥārī's Traditionssammlung*⁷, eminent traditionists like Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (773-852/1372-1449),⁸ al-ʿAynī (762-855/1360-1451),⁹ and al-Qaṣṭallānī (851-923/1448-1517),¹⁰ all of them living and working in Cairo, each provided a recension on the basis of different transmitters. Ibn Ḥaḡar and al-ʿAynī were obviously unaware of the most diligent efforts of one of their predecessors, the Syrian traditionist Šaraf al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī al-Ḥanbalī (621-701/1224-1302). Collating various manuscripts, al-Yūnīnī left a copy of the *Šaḥīḥ* which was probably very close to the original. This *Yūnīniyya* was solely used by al-Qaṣṭallānī to a decisive extent. It is only through his commentary on al-Buḥārī that al-Yūnīnī's redaction of the *Šaḥīḥ* has been known to us. Nevertheless, the texts of the *Šaḥīḥ* available today are thought to be based on the *Yūnīniyya* by scholars like Ignaz Goldziher,¹¹ who erroneously takes ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī's father Muḥammad for the author, as well as by Carl Brockelmann¹² and Fuat Sezgin.¹³ Judging from al-Qaṣṭallānī's report, Franz Rosenthal calls it a «masterpiece of Muslim theological scholarship».¹⁴

While cataloguing Arabic manuscripts left by the German orientalist Oskar (Osman) Rescher, I came across al-Yūnīnī's treatise entitled *al-Rumūz ʿalā Šaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī* (The Signs to al-Buḥārī's *Šaḥīḥ*). There he describes the paths of transmission of his *handexemplar*, the copy for his personal use (*aṣl samāʿī*), and of the versions with which he compared it in a far more detailed way than reported by al-Qaṣṭallānī. Although scholars have so far known of the existence of two other copies of the *Rumūz* — one in the library of al-Azhar, the other in Rāmpūr —,¹⁵ the treatise has not attracted their attention. Our manuscript, now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, under the signature Hs. or. 4460, deserves special attention due to a note by a Cairene contemporary of Ibn Ḥaḡar and al-ʿAynī, the *muḥaddiṭ* Muḥammad al-Badrānī.

In the time after al-Badrānī, the *Rumūz* seems to have been completely disregarded. ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī's philological work occasionally fell into oblivion, even though al-Qaṣṭallānī's commentary on the *Šaḥīḥ*, which does deal with him, was studied by generations of students at the various madrasas.¹⁶ So the 19th century Azharite al-Abyārī (1236-1305/1821-1887)¹⁷

7. ZDMG 92 (1938)/60-87.

8. As a study about the transmission of *ḥadīṭ* inevitably contains numerous and mostly long personal names, I decided to give in the text only that part of the name by which a person is known best. The full name is consigned to the footnote, in order to improve the readability of the paper. -Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī al-Šāfiʿī: GAL² 2/80 S 2/72-76; GAS 1/121-122; Kaḥḥāla 2/20-22; Ziriklī⁷ 1/178-179; EI² 3/776-778; Sublet 16-18.

9. Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAynī al-Ḥanafī: GAL² 2/64-66 S 2/50-51; GAS 1/122; Kaḥḥāla 12/150-151; Ziriklī⁷ 7/163; EI² 1/790-792.

10. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī al-Šāfiʿī: GAL² 2/87-88 S 2/78-79; GAS 1/123; Kaḥḥāla 2/85-86; EI² 4/736-737.

11. Goldziher 239.

12. GAL² 1/164.

13. GAS 1/117.

14. Rosenthal 27.

15. GAL S 1/262, I, 4, b; GAS 1/117.

16. Heyworth-Dunne 46.

17. ʿAbd Allāh b. Riḍwān al-Naḡā al-Abyārī: GAL² 2/639-640 S 2/741-742; Kaḥḥāla 6/203-204.

in his gloss to al-Qaṣṭallānī's introduction¹⁸ confused 'Alī al-Yūnīnī with his maternal grandfather, 'Abd Allāh al-Yūnīnī.¹⁹

In this article I wish to give proper attention to the life and work of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and to examine his influence up to the 9th/15th century, when al-Badrānī copied the *Rumūz*. As this Badrānī is the last known person who was concerned with al-Yūnīnī's treatise, I shall also focus on him. The research is based on the *Rumūz*, the most important biographical literature, the information provided by the chains of transmission of al-Badrānī, and two other Berlin documents dealing with al-Yūnīnī.²⁰

Al-Rumūz 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī

The *Rumūz* is printed in facsimile at the end of the article. For comparison I took into account the Azhar manuscript *maḡāmī* 225, fol. 103b-105a²¹ which I was kindly permitted to read in the Azhar library in September 1991. It dates from 1172/1758 and was written by the jurist Aḥmad al-Suḥaymī.²²

As for the numerals, five is written in two ways, one being the older form shaped like the European eight (8), the other the modern Arabic circular form. It even happens that both appear in one and the same numeral,²³ in the Berlin manuscript as well as in the Azhar manuscript. The modern digit five can be confused with the older form of the zero which is likewise a circle. So the zeros in the dates 630 and 320 could also be read as fives.²⁴ It is striking that the numerals in most cases are written in both manuscripts in the same way. This may be an indication that they were copied from the same book.

'Alī al-Yūnīnī's family and life

'Alī al-Yūnīnī lived in the 7th/13th century, a time of memorable events in the Islamic world: the Reconquista in the West, reducing the Muslim territories in the Iberian peninsula to the kingdom of Granada, and the Mongol conquest of the Eastern Islamic lands, which extinguished the caliphate of Baghdad. These upheavals brought a considerable number of refugees to Egypt and Syria.²⁵ There, when 'Alī was young, the later Ayyubids were engaged in internal struggles while the crusaders still held the Latin Kingdom, even comprising Jerusalem for more than a decade, as well as the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. They Crusaders were finally expelled by the Mamluks only at the end of the century.

During the first half of al-Yūnīnī's lifetime, Syria was the centre of the Islamic world. Sunni Islam had been revitalized through confrontation with Christian expansion. Madrasas and schools devoted especially to the learning of *ḥadīṭ* were established. In Damascus, the first *dār al-ḥadīṭ* was founded by the Zangid atabeg Nūr al-Dīn (511-569/1118-1174) and

18. Abyārī 140-141. In *EI*² 4/736 al-Qaṣṭallānī's *muqaddima* is referred to as a particular treatise on *ḥadīṭ*, whereas in *GAL* S 1/262, it is correctly mentioned as the introduction to the *Iršād*.

19. For him v. *infra* note 39.

20. Cf. note 1.

21. *Fihris* 503.

22. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Suḥaymī al-Qala'wī al-Ḥasanī al-'Arṣī al-Šāfi'ī al-Azharī: *GAL*² 2/431 S 2/456; Kaḥḥāla 2/130-131; Zirikli⁷ 1/243.

23. V. *infra* fol. 7a line 20.

24. V. *infra* fol. 7a line 17, and fol. 8a line 2.

25. For refugees coming from the Maghreb to Syria v. Pouzet: *Maghrébins*.

remained under the leadership of the Ibn 'Asākir family.²⁶ Some decades later, in the 7th/13th century, however, not less than ten *ḥadīṭ* schools were set up.²⁷ Men like Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Šahrazūrī (577-643/1118-1245),²⁸ the author of the standard work on the science of *ḥadīṭ*, entitled *al-Muqaddima fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīṭ*, and his commentator al-Nawawī (631-676/1233-1278),²⁹ who also compiled the widespread *Arba'ūn al-Nawawiyya*, taught there. His predecessor was Abū Šāma (599-665/1202-1268),³⁰ who is known mainly as a historian.

The 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries were the golden age of Ḥanbalism and the Syrian capital was an important centre of this *madḥab*.³¹ It was represented by some notable families, such as the Banū Munağğā,³² the Banū Qudāma,³³ and the Banū Taymiyya whose most eminent member, Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328),³⁴ devoted his life to the struggle against external and internal enemies of Islam, preaching the *ḡihād* and combating what he perceived as unscriptural innovation in religion.

'Alī al-Yūnīnī had personal contacts at least with the Banū Qudāma family,³⁵ but it is likely that he also knew other important families as his father, himself a prominent Ḥanbalite, seems to have moved to Damascus with his family in 'Alī's youth. Later, however, 'Alī moved back to his native town of Ba'lbakk, where he had been born on Rağab 11th, 621/July 29th, 1224.³⁶ His father, Muḥammad (572-658/1177-1269),³⁷ was a member of a leading family of the nearby village of Yūnīn³⁸ and had married a daughter of 'Abd Allāh al-Yūnīnī (ca. 533-617/1138-1221),³⁹ a highly respected *ṣayḥ* in the region. Muḥammad was a Šūfī as well as a recognized scholar of *ḥadīṭ* and jurisprudence. He studied under the Damascene traditionist Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt al-Ḥuṣū'ī (510-598/1116-1201),⁴⁰ who is said to

26. For the family of the historian and *muḥaddiṭ* Ibn 'Asākir v. Pouzet: *Descendence*.

27. For the teaching of *ḥadīṭ* in 7th/13th century Damascus v. Pouzet: *Damas* 182-199. Cf. also Goldziher 186-188.

28. Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uṭmān b. Mūsā al-Kurdī al-Šahrazūrī al-Mawṣilī Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ: *GAL*² 1/440-442 S 1/610-612; Kaḥḥāla 6/257; Ziriklī⁷ 4/207-208; *EP*² 3/927; Pouzet: *Damas* 29-32.

29. Muḥyi al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. Šaraf al-Dīn b. Murī al-Nawawī: *GAL*² 1/496-501 S 1/680-686; Kaḥḥāla 13/202-203; Ziriklī⁷ 8/149-150; *EP*² 7/1041-1042; Pouzet: *Herméneutique*.

30. Šihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'il Abū Šāma: *GAL*² 1/386-387 S 1/550-555; Kaḥḥāla 5/125-126 13/395; Ziriklī⁷ 3/199; *EP*² 1/150; Pouzet: *Abū Šāma*.

31. A detailed picture of the origin and development of the Ḥanbalite *madḥab* in Damascus, its dogma and the relations to the other *madāhib*, as well as the engagement of Ḥanbalites in the city, is drawn by Pouzet: *Damas* 80-96. For the universal development of Ḥanbalism v. Laoust.

32. For this family v. *MAL* 1/54-61.

33. For the Banū Qudāma and their origin v. Drory and Miura.

34. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī al-Dimašqī: *GAL*² 2/125-127 S 2/119-126; Kaḥḥāla 1/261 13/361; Ziriklī⁷ 1/144; *EP*² 3/951-955.

35. V. *infra* note 108-111, the transmitters of his *handexemplar*.

36. Šaraf al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Īsā al-Yūnīnī: *Ḥanābila* 345-346; *Taḍkira* 4/1500; *Wāfi* 21/421; *Bidāya* 14/20; *Durar* 3/171-172; *Šadarāt* 6/3-4. *Tālī* 86 only mentions the circumstances of his death.

37. Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Īsā al-Yūnīnī al-Ba'lbakkī al-Ḥanbalī: *Ḥanābila* 2/269-273; *Taḍkira* 4/1439-1442; *Siyar* 21/356-357; *Wāfi* 2/121; *Bidāya* 13/227-229; *Manḥal* (Wiet) 301 n° 2017; Kaḥḥāla 8/282; Ziriklī⁷ 5/322. V. also Laoust: *Le hanbalisme sous les Mamloukes bahrites* 48.

38. Yāqūt 8/531; Dussaud 412.

39. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uṭmān b. Ġa'far al-Yūnīnī: *Siyar* 22/101-103; Pouzet: *Damas* 87.

40. Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥuṣū'ī al-Raffā': *Wafāyāt* 1/269-270; *Siyar* 21/355-357; *Wāfi* 10/117; Kaḥḥāla 5/33; Ziriklī⁷ 3/220. For references to other members of the leading Damascene family of al-Ḥuṣū'ī v. *MAL* 1/373.

have been the last person with an *iğāza* of al-Ḥarirī (446-516/1054-1122),⁴¹ the author of the famous *Maqāmāt*. The renowned jurist Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma (541-620/1147-1223)⁴² was Muḥammad's teacher of *fiqh*.

One of Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī's sisters was married to the governor of Ba'lbakk and Šawbak, a certain Aybak (d. 674/1275).⁴³ The most renowned member of the family, however, was his younger brother, the historian Qutb al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Mūsā al-Yūnīnī, the author of the chronicle *Dayl Mir'āt al-zamān*. He was born in Damascus in 640/1242 and died in 726/1326.⁴⁴

'Alī al-Yūnīnī did most of his studies in the Syrian capital. In Ramaḍān 630/June 1233, he stayed together with his father and other scholars in the Damascene citadel in order to study Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁴⁵ Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī was on friendly terms with the Ayyubid governor of Damascus, al-Ašraf I (regn. 625-635/1228-1238). In the same year, 630/1233, al-Ašraf founded two institutions dedicated to the study of *ḥadīṭ*, which both were named after him. The *šayḥ* of the first Damascene *Dār al-ḥadīṭ al-ašrafiyya*, which was situated in the centre of the town near the citadel, was the leading Šāfi'ite jurist and traditionist, the above-mentioned Ibn al-Šalāḥ al-Šahrazūrī. The second school was built *extra muros* in the suburb of al-Šālīḥiyya on Mount Qāsiyūn founded by Ḥanbalite immigrants from Jerusalem and other places under Frankish rule.⁴⁶ It became the preserve of the Ḥanbalite traditionists of the offspring of Ibn Qudāma and other Palestinian families.⁴⁷ Damascus developed under the government of al-Ašraf into the main cultural and religious centre of the Arab East and was only gradually replaced by the capital, Cairo, after the Mamluk victory over the Mongols in 658/1260.

41. Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarirī al-Bašrī: *GAL*² 1/325-329 S 1/486-489; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/108 13/412; *Zirikli*⁷ 5/177-178; *EI*² 3/221-222.

42. Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma: *GAL*² 1/502-504 S 1/688-689 S 3/1226; *Kaḥḥāla* 6/30-31; *Zirikli*⁷ 4/67; *EI*² 3/842-843.

43. *Dayl Mir'āt* 3/131-133. This Aybak, a mamlūk of the Ayyubid prince al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl b. al-'Ādil (d. 648/1251), is not identical — as opposed to the assumption of Pouzet: *Damas* 87-88 — with the famous 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Manšūr Aybak al-Mu'azzamī (d. 646/1248), a mamlūk of al-Mu'azzam 'Isā b. al-'Ādil (d. 624/1227; v. *EI*² 7/273-274, Haarmann: *Altun Hān* 7-9) and grandfather of the historian Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aybak Ibn al-Dawādārī (ca. 687-736/1288-1336; v. *EI*² 3/744). For the genuine Turkish origin of Ibn al-Dawādārī v. Haarmann *loc. cit.*

44. *GAL*² 1/425 n° 13, 1, c S 1/589; *Kaḥḥāla* 13/45-46; *Zirikli*⁷ 7/328.

45. Cf. *infra* fol. 7a line 17-18. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted on the authority of Abū al-Waqt al-Harawī (458-553/1066-1158; v. *infra* note 84), the *šayḥ* of al-Yūnīnī's teacher (Ibn) al-Zabīdī (546/1151 or 547/1152-631/1233; v. *infra* note 82), but not of Ibn al-'Izz (591-643/1195-1245; v. *infra* note 108), who was present at the reading. So Ibn al-'Izz was not a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as the nominative « Abū al-'Abbās [...] Ibn al-'Izz » in both of the manuscripts of the *Rumūz* (v. *infra* fol. 7a line 11) suggests, but a reciter, and the Arabic text has to be read « wa [bi-qirā']at Abī al-'Abbās [...] ». In our manuscript the six of the date is confused with the digit for two. The date in the Azhar manuscript can be read either as 635/1228 or as 630/1223 (cf. Irani 4-8). In Ramaḍān 635/April 1238, the political situation in Damascus was unclear. Some days before, the great emirs of the deceased Sultan al-Kāmil had gathered in the same place in order to elect a new ruler of the city. After the death of his brother al-Ašraf, the Egyptian sultan had taken Damascus on Ġumādā 19th, 635/January 7th, 1238 after a siege of nearly two months, but he had died there on Raġab 21th/March 9th (Humphreys 234-242). I think it is unlikely in this situation that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was studied in the citadel. So the date has to be read Ramaḍān 630/June 1233. At this date, (Ibn) al-Zabīdī was still alive. As we know that he lived in the Damascene citadel for some time, I assume that the lectures took place in his presence.

46. For the development of this suburb v. Miura.

47. Humphreys 211; Pouzet: *Damas* 188-189. The Banū Qudāma, though called Maqdisi, did not originate from Jerusalem but from the region of Nablus, cf. Drory 98; Miura 132-133.

About the other stations of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī's life, we only have incidental information. After the year 640/1242, he travelled to Egypt five times in order to improve his knowledge in *ḥadīṭ*.⁴⁸ He refers to his sojourn in Cairo in 661/1263 in the *Rumūz*.⁴⁹ Apart from that, he seems to have spent most of his life in Syria. He visited Ḥamā at least twice: in the year 671/1272, in order to teach the *Ṣaḥīḥ* there,⁵⁰ and one year later, on Ramaḍān 9th, 672/March 19th, 1274, to attend a recitation by the poet Sadīd al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-Ḥiḍr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥiḍr al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṣāliḥ (584-681/1188-1283) in the Ḥanqāh al-Nūriyya, as his brother informs us.⁵¹ His place of residence, however, was Ba'lbakk, where he attracted travelling students. Nevertheless, he also went to Damascus to teach.⁵² Al-Yūnīnī had just returned from one of these journeys on Friday, Ramaḍān 5th, 701/May 4th, 1302, and was in the library of his house⁵³ in Ba'lbakk when a certain Mūsā al-Miṣrī al-Nāṣif entered the room, drew a knife and stabbed him. He died from his wounds a few days later, on Thursday, Ramaḍān 11th/May 10th.⁵⁴ He was buried in his native town at Bāb Baṭḥā'.⁵⁵ Nothing is known about the motive for this murder. Sources suggest that it was the deed of a madman.

As a teacher of *ḥadīṭ*, al-Yūnīnī's influence seems to have been rather limited. Nevertheless, some of his pupils are known to us: apart from his son 'Abd al-Qādir (672/1272 or 682/1283 or 683/1284-747/1346),⁵⁶ his most prominent disciples were al-Birzālī (665-739/1267-1339)⁵⁷ and al-Dahabī (673-748/1274-1348),⁵⁸ both authors of biographical encyclopædias, but less influential as traditionists.

In Ḥamā in 671/1272, al-Yūnīnī taught the *Ṣaḥīḥ* before a group of disciples, of whom a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Qurnāṣ and his father are named in a certificate of audition.⁵⁹ Among his Damascene pupils was 'Alī b. Ayyūb al-Maqdisī (approx. 666-748/1267-1347),⁶⁰ later a teacher in Jerusalem, who suffered in his last years from mental derangement except during sessions of *ḥadīṭ* lecturing, as his biographer assures us. In

48. *Ḥanābila* 345.

49. V. *infra* fol. 7b, line 10.

50. Berlin manuscript Spr. 908, fol. 47a.

51. *Dayl Mir'āt* 4/169.

52. *Durar* 3/172; manuscript Berlin WE 160 (Ahlwardt n° 1147), fol. 2a.

53. According to *Ḥanābila* 346, it was the library of the Ḥanbalite Mosque. The statement of the existence of this library by Eche 248 is based on this passage in *Ḥanābila*.

54. *Bidāya* 14/20; *Ḥanābila* 346; *Ṣaḍarāt* 6/3. *Durar* 3/171-172 gives Ramaḍān, 10th as the date of his death; *Wāfi* 21/421 and *Tālī* 346 without date.

55. *Bidāya* 14/20.

56. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī al-Ba'lbakkī al-Ḥanafī: *Vajda* 223-225.

57. 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Birzālī al-Ṣāfi'i: *GAL*² 2/45 S 2/34-35; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/124-125; *Ziriklī*⁷ 5/182; *EP*² 1/1238-1239.

58. Šams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uṭmān b. Qāymāz al-Dahabī al-Dimašqī al-Ṣāfi'i: *GAL*² 2/57-60 S 2/45-47; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/289-291; *Ziriklī*⁷ 5/326; *EP*² 2/214-216.

59. The certificate is preserved on the last page of the treatise *al-Īmān al-tāmm bi-Muḥammad 'alay-hi al-salām* of 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥirālī al-Mālīkī (d. 637/1239; *GAL*² 1/527 S 1/735; *Kaḥḥāla* 7/13; *Ziriklī*⁷ 4/256-257) in Berlin, Spr. 908, fol. 47a (Ahlwardt n° 150). It was copied in Raḡab 721/July-August 1321. Cf. the description of the manuscript by Ahlwardt n° 1743. I was unable to find any information about this Maḡd al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn Abī al-Faraḡ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Qurnāṣ al-Ḥazā'i al-Ḥamawī al-Ṣāfi'i or his father.

60. 'Alā' al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ayyūb b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṣāfi'i al-Maqdisī: *Šāfi'iyya* 3/40-41. The lecture was after the year 686/1287, manuscript Berlin WE 160 (Ahlwardt n° 1147), fol. 1b-2a.

735/1334, the historian and geographer Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Ḥawwāšī (714-765/1314-1364)⁶¹ read al-Buhārī's book before 'Alī al-Maqdisī in the Aqṣā Mosque. Twenty-two years later, in 757/1356, Aḥmad transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to an anonymous person in the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya⁶² in Jerusalem. At this date, this chain of transmitters of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī's tradition comes to an end. It is noted down in a Berlin manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, copied approximately in 900/1494.⁶³

A longer *isnād*⁶⁴ leads from 'Alī al-Yūnīnī to al-Qaṣṭallānī via the inspector of the Syrian treasury, Ibn al-Ṣayraḡī (682-770/1283-1368)⁶⁵ and two younger traditionists. Ibn al-Ṣayraḡī was also among the teachers of Ibn Kaṭīr (701-774/1301-1373),⁶⁶ the author of the chronicle *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, and of Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī (725-806/1325-1404).⁶⁷ This most influential *muḥaddiṭ* studied also with two other pupils of al-Yūnīnī, i.e. the judge 'Umar Ibn Zabātir (d. 764/1362)⁶⁸ and Aḥmad Ibn al-Ġuwaḥī (673/1274 or 683/1284-764/1362),⁶⁹ who had given up his function in the army and devoted his life to the study of *ḥadīṭ*. Both are named in the list of *ṣayḥ*-s of the Jerusalem jurist al-Qibābī (748-838/1348-1434)⁷⁰ together with three other pupils of al-Yūnīnī: the Ba'lbakk civilian supervisor of the army office (*nāẓir al-ḡayṣ*), Sulaymān al-Ba'li (b. after 670/1271-755/1354),⁷¹ the Damascene teacher and *mu'addīn* at the Umayyad Mosque, Aḥmad al-Ṣahyūnī (682-761/1283-1359),⁷² and the *wālī al-ḥisba* of Damascus, Ibn al-'Afīf (693-764/1293-1362).⁷³

'Alī al-Yūnīnī's teachers

'Alī al-Yūnīnī's first teacher was his father, who taught not only his sons but also his two daughters, among other pupils.⁷⁴

61. Šihāb al-Dīn Abū Maḥmūd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Šāfi'ī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥawwāšī: *GAL*² 2/162 S 2/162; Kaḥḥāla 2/160; Zirikli⁷ 1/224.

62. This madrasa, built on the orders of the Mamluk viceroy of Syria, Tankiz al-Nāširī, was completed in 729/1328, MAE 2/132.

63. Berlin manuscript WE. 160, fol. 2a (Ahlwardt n° 1147).

64. Cf. Fück *Tafel* III.

65. 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Barakāt Mūsā b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Dimašqī Ibn al-Ṣayraḡī: *Durar* 5/38.

66. 'Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'il b. 'Umar Ibn Kaṭīr al-Qurašī al-Buṣrawī al-Šāfi'ī: *GAL*² 2/60-66 S 2/48-49; Kaḥḥāla 2/283-284 13/373; Zirikli⁷ 1/320; *El*² 3/817-818.

67. For him v. *infra* note 206.

68. Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Faqīh 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Maḥmūd (Muḥammad) Ibn Zabātir (Bātir, Ribāṭ) al-Dimašqī al-Ḥanbalī al-Qāḍī: *Durar* 3/267; *Šaḍarāt* 6/202; Sublet 65.

69. Badr al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd (Muḥammad) Ibn al-Zuqāq Ibn al-Ġuwaḥī al-Ma'arrī al-Dimašqī: *Durar* 1/165-166; Zirikli⁷ 1/223-224; Sublet 35.

70. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qibābī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanbalī: *Daw'* 4/113-114; Sublet 20-21.

71. Šaraf al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ba'li al-Dimašqī: *Durar* 2/240; Sublet 64.

72. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Ḥiḍr al-Ṣahyūnī al-Dimašqī al-Ḥaṣkafī al-Šāfi'ī: *Durar* 1/97-98; Sublet 33.

73. Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad (Muḥammad) b. Ishāq b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-'Afīf al-Āmidī al-Dimašqī: *Durar* 1/110; Sublet 33.

74. *Wāfi* 2/121.

Like many other traditionists, 'Alī began his education very early in life. By the age of three or even less he attended lectures (*samī'a ḥudūran*)⁷⁵ given by the traditionist and jurist Bahā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (555/1160 or 556/1161-624/1227)⁷⁶ in Ba'lbakk.⁷⁷ Together with his father, Bahā' had emigrated from his native village in the district of Nablus for fear of the Franks, first to Damascus and then to Egypt. In 572/1174, he went to Baghdad and later returned to Syria. He lived in Damascus, Nablus, and Ba'lbakk, and finally Damascus again, gathering students around himself. Bahā' is known as commentator of the Ḥanbalite manual *Kitāb al-muqni'* of his teacher Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma⁷⁸ and the *Kitāb al-'umda* about religious observances written by the same author.

In Ba'lbakk al-Yūnīnī also heard a certain 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī al-MD'W al-Irbilī,⁷⁹ and Ibn Rawāḥa (560-646/1164-1248),⁸⁰ whose father had been a prisoner of the Franks in Sicily who, after his release, had gone to Alexandria. There he let his son hear the famous Persian scholar al-Silafī (478/1085 or earlier-576/1180).⁸¹ Al-Silafī taught for more than sixty years in Alexandria at a madrasa built for him by a Fatimid emir, which was the centre of transmission of his times. Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (532-589/1138-1193) and his brother participated in his gatherings. Ibn Rawāḥa later turned from Egypt to Syria, lecturing in various towns. 'Alī al-Yūnīnī's Damascene teachers are:

— (Ibn) al-Zabīdī (546/1151 or 547/1152-631/1233).⁸² He lectured in his native city of Baghdad until al-Aṣraf called him to Damascus, where he lived and taught in the citadel before he moved to the *Dār al-ḥadīṭ al-aṣrafiyya*. Finally he returned to Baghdad again. Another of his pupils was 'Alī al-Yūnīnī's father.⁸³ (Ibn) al-Zabīdī had studied under Abū al-Waqt al-Harawī (458-553/1066-1158),⁸⁴ « the last editor of Buḥārī, who was steeped in the living tradition of the theological instruction as it flourished in the mosques and madrasas of mediaeval Islam ».⁸⁵

75. *Wāfi* 21/421.

76. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī: *Siyar* 22/269-271; *Wāfi* 18/96; *Kaḥḥāla* 5/112; *Ziriklī*⁷ 3/292.

77. *Ḥanābila* 345.

78. V. *supra* note 42.

79. Under this name in *Ḥanābila* 345; in *Durar* 3/172 and *Wāfi* 21/421, only called al-Irbilī. *Siyar* 22/395-396 mentions Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Yūnīnī as a pupil of the rather obscure scholar Fahr al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Musallam al-Irbilī al-Šūfī (559/1163 or 565/1169-633/1236), a transmitter of the traditionist and historian of Damascus, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn 'Asākir (499-571/1106-1176; for him v. *infra* note 96). Another individual, namely Šaraf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥaḍḡbānī al-Irbilī al-Šāfi'i al-Luḡawī (568-656/1172-1258), may also come into question, for 'Alī's brother Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā al-Yūnīnī is named among his *ruwāt*. This Irbilī transmitted from Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt al-Ḥuṣū'i. For al-Ḥuṣū'i v. *supra* note 40. For two younger Irbilis v. Pouzet: *Herméneutique* 14.

80. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī al-Ḥazraḡī al-Šāmī al-Ḥamawī al-Šāfi'i: *Siyar* 23/261-262; *Wāfi* 17/144-145; *Ḥanābila* 345; *Šaḍarāt* 5/234.

81. 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī al-Silafī: *Wafāyāt* 1/105-107; *Taḍkira* 4/1298; *Siyar* 21/5-39; *Wāfi* 7/351-356; *GAL*² 1/450 S 1/624; *Kaḥḥāla* 2/75-76; *Ziriklī*⁷ 1/215-216.

82. Sirāḡ al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad (Ibn) al-Zabīdī al-Baḡdādī al-Ḥanbalī: *Ḥanābila* 188-189; *Siyar* 22/357; *Wāfi* 13/30-31; *Šaḍarāt* 5/144; *Ziriklī*⁷ 2/235.

83. V. *infra* the transmission of the *handexemplar*.

84. Abū al-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Isā b. Šu'ayb al-Siḡzi al-Harawī: *Wafāyāt* 3/226-227; *Siyar* 20/303-311; *Wāfi* 18/10-11.

85. Fück 79.

— Ibn al-Lattī (545-635/1151-1238),⁸⁶ who lived mainly in his native city of Baghdad, but also taught in Aleppo, Damascus and Karak. As a young boy, Ibn al-Lattī heard the late Abū al-Waqt, and so he constitutes a second link between 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and this important transmitter;

— Abū Ṣādiq Ibn Ṣabbāḥ al-Miṣrī (541-632/1146-1235),⁸⁷ one of the *ṣuhūd al-ḥizāna* of Damascus;

— Al-Hamaḍānī (546-636/1151-1238),⁸⁸ a scholar of Iranian origin, who was born in Egypt and lived in Damascus. He was a transmitter of his fellow-countryman al-Silafī;

— Mukram⁸⁹ Ibn Abī al-Ṣaqr (548-635/1153-1238),⁹⁰ a merchant and collector of *ḥadīṭ*-s, who visited Egypt several times;

— Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Širāzī (549-635/1146-1238),⁹¹ *qāḍī* of Syria and professor at the *Madrasat al-ʿImād* and later at the *Šāmiyya al-kubrā* in Damascus, who had an *iğāza* from Abū al-Waqt among others;

— Al-Ašraf I (576-635/1180-1237),⁹² the governor of Damascus. He had met the above-mentioned Ḥanbalite (Ibn) al-Zabīdī in Baghdad and taken him along to Damascus. Al-Ašraf heard al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in eight days from al-Zabīdī, most probably in Ramaḍān-Šawwāl 630/June-July 1233.⁹³ 'Alī al-Yūnīnī is referred to as al-Ašraf's only transmitter.⁹⁴

All of his Egyptian teachers were, as far as we know, students of al-Silafī, like Ibn al-Ġummayzī (558-649/1163-1252),⁹⁵ who was also a pupil of the Damascene historian Ibn 'Asākir (499-571/1106-1176)⁹⁶ and himself a teacher in Damascus, Mecca, and finally in Cairo. Presumably it was in Alexandria that al-Yūnīnī heard Ibn Rawāğ (554-648/1159-1251).⁹⁷ The last of these is the traditionist and biographer al-Mundirī (581-656/1185-

86. Abū al-Munağğā 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Bağḍādī al-Ḥarīmī al-Ṭāhirī al-Qazzāz Ibn al-Lattī: *Siyar* 23/15-17; *Wāfi* 17/372; *Ziriklī*⁷ 4/110; *MAL* 1/61. Probably not related to the Damascene Banū Munağğā, cf. *supra* note 32.

87. Abū Ṣādiq al-Ḥasan b. Yahyā Ibn Ṣabbāḥ al-Qurašī al-Maḥzūmī al-Miṣrī al-Kātib: *Siyar* 22/372-373; *Wāfi* 12/304-305. This *ṣayḥ* is missing in *Ḥanābila*, where a certain Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is listed, perhaps being confused with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ.

88. Abū al-Faḍl Ġa'far b. 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh al-Hamaḍānī al-Iskandarānī al-Mālikī: *Siyar* 23/36-39; *Wāfi* 11/117; *Kaḥḥāla* 3/142.

89. Vocalized this way in *Siyar*.

90. Abū al-Faḍl Mukram b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza Ibn Abī al-Ṣaqr al-Qurašī al-Dimašqī al-Ṭāğir al-Saffār: *Siyar* 23/34.

91. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Širāzī al-Dimašqī al-Šāfi'i: *Siyar* 23/31; *Wāfi* 5/157-158.

92. Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Mūsā al-Ašraf I b. al-'Ādil: *Wafāyāt* 5/330-336; *Siyar* 22/122-127; *Bidāya* 13/146-149; *Šaḍarāt* 5/175-176.

93. *Wāfi* 13/30-31. The reading was finished in Šawwāl. I conjecture that it was the lecturing which al-Yūnīnī also attended (v. *supra* note 45).

94. *Siyar* 22/123.

95. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. Salāma al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi'i Ibn al-Ġummayzī: *Siyar* 23/253-254.

96. Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Asākir al-Šāfi'i: *Wafāyāt* 3/309-311; *Taḍkira* 4/1328-1334; *Siyar* 20/554-571; *GAL*² 1/403 S 1/566-567; *EI*² 3/713; *Kaḥḥāla* 7/69-70; *Ziriklī*⁷ 4/273-274; Pouzet: *Descendence*.

97. Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ibn Rawāğ al-Iskandarānī al-Mālikī al-Ġawṣanī: *Siyar* 23/237-238, where al-Yūnīnī is not mentioned among his pupils. Only *Wāfi* names Ibn Rawāğ as al-Yūnīnī's teacher in the latter's biography, but the Ibn Rawāğ of *Ḥanābila* presumedly is the same personality.

1258),⁹⁸ who was probably visited by al-Yūnīnī in Cairo. Al-Mundīrī was a teacher there for more than twenty years. But it was in Damascus that al-Yūnīnī maintained the most fruitful relations. There he met the famous grammarian Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn Mālīk (600 or 601-672/1203 or 1204-1275).⁹⁹ It was in cooperation with him that he provided the text of Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.¹⁰⁰

*The transmission of al-Yūnīnī's handexemplar*¹⁰¹

In his efforts to correct later additions to, or omissions from al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as well as misreadings, al-Yūnīnī endeavoured to go back to the original as close as possible. Al-Buḥārī's most important disciple, the principal transmitter of the "first layer",¹⁰² was al-Firabrī (231-320/845-932).¹⁰³ Al-Yūnīnī tried to establish his text by comparison with the traditions of his pupils, mainly of Ibn Ḥammuwayhi al-Ḥamawī (293-381/905-991),¹⁰⁴ al-Mustamlī (d. 376/986),¹⁰⁵ and Abū Hayṭam al-Kuṣmīhanī (d. 389/999)¹⁰⁶ ("second layer"). He noted down in his *handexemplar* the variants of readings and marked them by special abbreviations.

The *handexemplar* reflected the tradition of al-Firabrī's pupil Ibn Ḥammuwayhi. He received (*aḥbara-nī bi-hi*) this text from his teacher (Ibn) al-Zabīdī through the reading (*bi-qirā'a*) of four scholars in the course of the above-mentioned session in the citadel of Damascus during Ramaḍān 630/June 1233.¹⁰⁷ One of the scholars was his father, while the other three belonged to the Banū Qudāma clan: Ibn al-'Izz (591-643/1195-1245),¹⁰⁸ his cousin Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Maqdisī (605-659/1208-60),¹⁰⁹ and the calligrapher and author Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (605-643/1208-1245).¹¹⁰ The latter descended from the famous Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma, the other two were grandsons of

98. Zakī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundīrī al-Šāmī al-Šāfi'i: *Siyar* 23/319-322; *Šāfi'iyya* 2/140-142; *GAL*² 1/452-453 S 1/627; *Kaḥḥāla* 5/264-265; *Zirikli*⁷ 4/30.

99. Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Mālīk: *GAL*² 1/359-363 S 1/521-527; *EL*² 3/861-862; *Kaḥḥāla* 10/234; *Zirikli*⁷ 6/233-234; Pouzet: *Deux grammairiens*.

100. V. *infra* note 168.

101. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 7a line 6-25.

102. For the classification of the transmission into different "layers" v. Fück, *op. cit.*

103. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Firabrī: *Wafāyāt* 4/290; *Siyar* 15/10-13; *Wāfi* 5/245; Fück 62; *GAS* 1/117; *Zirikli*⁷ 7/148.

104. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammuwayhi al-Ḥamawī al-Saraḥsī: *Siyar* 16/492-493; *Wāfi* 17/45. For the manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which Ibn Ḥammuwayhi read in Herat in 373/983 v. a note in *MAL* 1/88.

105. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Balḥī al-Mustamlī: *Siyar* 16/492; Fück 64; *Kaḥḥāla* 1/3; *Zirikli*⁷ 1/28-29.

106. Abū Hayṭam Muḥammad b. al-Makkī al-Kuṣmīhanī: *Siyar* 16/491-492; *Wāfi* 5/57-58; Fück 64; *Kaḥḥāla* 12/49.

107. V. *infra* fol. 7a line 6-25. For the date v. *supra* note 45.

108. Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ġanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī al-Šāliḥī, known as Ibn al-'Izz: *Siyar* 23/212; *Hanābila* 2/232-233.

109. Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Maqdisī: *Wāfi* 12/91-92; *Hanābila* 2/273.

110. Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī: *Hanābila* 2/240-241; *Taḍkira* 4/1446; *Siyar* 23/118-119; *Wāfi* 7/273; *Kaḥḥāla* 2/39; Drory 105, e and table 1.

his maternal cousin, the pugnacious Ḥanbalite 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Maqdisī al-Ġammā'īlī (541-600/1146-1203),¹¹¹ who was ousted from Damascus after being accused of heresy.

(Ibn) al-Zabīdī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* goes back to Ibn Ḥammuwayhi via two *muḥaddithūn*: in 553/1158, he read the text before Abū al-Waqt, who read it in Būṣanġ¹¹² before al-Dāwūdī (374-467/984-1075),¹¹³ who in Ṣafar 381/April 991 read it before Ibn Ḥammuwayhi. So the *handexemplar* had a relatively "high" *isnād*. Since the readers of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in (Ibn) al-Zabīdī's circle did not function as al-Yūnīnī's transmitters, the chain contains only five links between him and al-Buhārī.

Confirming the lineage from Abū al-Waqt to al-Buhārī, al-Yūnīnī adduces the testimony of another student of the former, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh (b.?) 'Atīq b. Baqā'¹¹⁴ al-Baġdādī.¹¹⁵

The versions of the Ṣaḥīḥ with which al-Yūnīnī compared his handexemplar

1st 116 — Taking the text of Ibn Ḥammuwayhi as the starting point, al-Yūnīnī compared the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with the version of al-Firabī's pupil al-Kuṣmīhanī. In 661/1262, al-Yūnīnī read the whole *Ṣaḥīḥ* before the late Ḍarīr (572-661/1176-1263)¹¹⁷ from the *handexemplar* of the latter (*aṣl samā'i-hi*). Al-Ḍarīr was a son-in-law of the famous Ṣāṭibī (538-590/1144-1194)¹¹⁸ and, as al-Yūnīnī points out, the greatest reciter of the Qur'ān in Egypt. He transmitted from three *ṣayḥ*-s: the first, the Cairene al-Būṣīrī (500/1107 or 505/1112-598/1201)¹¹⁹, one of al-Silafī's students, who was the sole transmitter of certain *ḥadīṭ*-s. His *ṣayḥ*-s were the grammarian al-Sa'idī al-Naḥwī (420-520/1030-1126)¹²⁰ and Abū Ṣādiq al-Madanī (d. 517/1123),¹²¹ one of al-Silafī's teachers; the second, al-Artāḥī (507-601/1113-1205)¹²² from Artāḥ near Aleppo,¹²³ who settled in Egypt and lectured on the basis of an

111. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ġanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī al-Ġammā'īlī: *GAL*² 1/437 S 1/605; *Kaḥḥāla* 5/275-276; *Ziriklī*⁷ 4/34; Drory 105-106, f; for the relation of Ibn Qudāma and 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Maqdisī v. Pouzet: *Damas* 86. Three manuscripts written by him or read before him are dealt with by Leder. The Ḍiyā'iyya madrasa had been endowed with these manuscripts which are now preserved in the Syrian National Library, v. *infra* note 151.

112. Situated near Herat, cf. Yāqūt 2/304-305. In both of our manuscripts miswritten as Bū Ṣayḥ. The year is given in manuscript Berlin as Ḍū al-Qa'da 465/Julī 1073, and appears in manuscript Azhar mistakenly as Ḍū al-Qa'da 495/August 1102.

113. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar al-Dāwūdī: *Siyar* 18/222-226; *Wāfi* 18/252-253; *Kaḥḥāla* 5/192.

114. Bafā in manuscript Azhar.

115. V. *infra* fol. 8a line 4-5. Maybe this obscure scholar is the son (or grandson?) of 'Atīq b. Baqā', teacher of a certain *muḥaddīṭ* who deceased in 685/128, cf. *Dayl Mir'āt* 4/301.

116. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 7b line 7, fol. 8a line 6.

117. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ṣuġā' b. Sālīm al-'Abbāsī al-Miṣrī al-Ḍarīr: *Wāfi* 21/152-153.

118. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firroh al-Ṣāṭibī: *EI* 4/362-363; *GAL*² 1/520-522 S 1/725-727; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/110-111; *Ziriklī*⁷ 5/180. His two poems about the recitation of the Qur'ān, *Hirz al-amānī wa waġḥ al-taḥānī*, also called *al-Ṣāṭibiyya*, and *'Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fī asnā al-maqāṣid* are widespread and often commented.

119. Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī b. Su'ūd al-Anṣārī al-Ḥazraġī al-Būṣīrī: *Wafāyāt* 6/67-69; *Siyar* 21/390-392; *Kaḥḥāla* 13/142; *Ziriklī*⁷ 8/75.

120. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Barakāt b. Hilāl al-Sa'idī al-Ṣūfī al-Naḥwī: *Siyar* 19/455-456; *Wāfi* 2/247; *GAL*² S 2/987; *Kaḥḥāla* 9/101; *Ziriklī*⁷ 6/51.

121. Abū Ṣādiq Muṣṣid b. Yahyā b. Qāsim al-Madanī: *Wafāyāt* 6/67; *Siyar* 19/475-476.

122. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamd b. Ḥamid al-Ḥanbalī al-Artāḥī al-Miṣrī: *Wafāyāt* 3/419; *Siyar* 21/415-416. One of his pupils was al-Yūnīnī's *ṣayḥ* Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundirī, cf. *supra* note 98.

123. Yāqūt 1/177.

iğāza from al-Farrā' (433-519/1041-1125)¹²⁴; and the third, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh (b.?) 'Atīq b. Baqā' al-Baḡdādī. He obtained the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū al-Waqt, while the lineage of al-Ḍarīr's other teachers went back through the famous Karīma al-Marwazīyya (d. 463/1070)¹²⁵ to al-Kuṣmīhanī. Karīma heard al-Kuṣmīhanī in Ġumādā I 389/April 999. She attracted numerous pupils in Mecca. There al-Sa'īdī read before her in the year 456/1064 and Abū Ṣādiq the next year, 457, in Šawwāl/September 1065.¹²⁶

2nd ¹²⁷ — Where discrepancies existed between the texts of al-Kuṣmīhanī and Ibn Ḥammuwayhi, al-Yūnīnī further consulted a manuscript which the Ḥānqāh al-Sumaysāṭī in Damascus¹²⁸ was endowed with. This copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, too, contained the version of Karīma al-Marwazīyya from al-Kuṣmīhanī. It was read by al-Sam'ānī (506-562/1113-1167),¹²⁹ the author of the *Kitāb al-ansāb* as well as of a treatise on the methods of teaching and studying, before Abū al-Waqt in Ḥurasān. In this book, the differences between the reading of the latter and that of Karīma were noted down. Al-Yūnīnī marked the variants of this manuscript, which was also read to him (*aṣl samā'i*), alluding to al-Sam'ānī's honorific epithet *al-ḥāfiẓ*, by the letter *zā'*.¹³⁰

3rd ¹³¹ — Al-Kuṣmīhanī's tradition was also incorporated into the transmission of Abū Ḍarr (355-434/966-1042),¹³² who had studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under him as well as under al-Firabrī's pupils Ibn Ḥammuwayhi and al-Mustamlī. The differences in the readings of his three *ṣayḥ*-s were noted by Abū Ḍarr in his text. So his efforts « amount to the oldest verifiable attempt to establish a critical edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ». ¹³³ Al-Yūnīnī used a manuscript of Abū Ḍarr's tradition, which was read before the calligrapher, reciter of the Qur'ān, and teacher of al-Silafī, Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a (478-560/1085-1164),¹³⁴ who had travelled from his native town, Fez, to Egypt, Mecca, and Syria, and finally settled in Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a had received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī,¹³⁵ who had got it from Abū

124. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Farrā': *Siyar* 19/500-501. He had come from Mosul to Egypt.

125. Umm al-Kiram Karīma bint Aḥmad al-Marwazīyya: *Siyar* 18/233-234; Fück 69; Zirikli⁷ 5/225.

126. V. *infra* fol. 7b line 23-24.

127. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8a line 6-13.

128. The former house of the Damascene geometrician and astronomer Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Sumaysāṭī (405-453/1014-1061), situated near the Great Mosque and instituted as religious endowment for the benefit of sufis and the blind *ahl al-Qur'ān*. Cf. Sam'ānī: *Ansāb* 7/246-247; Sauvairé V/278-280; Éliasséff 268-269; Zirikli⁷ 4/328.

129. Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Sam'ānī: *Wafāyāt* 3/209-212; *Tadkira* 4/1316-1318; *Siyar* 20/456-650; Fück 78; *GAL*² 1/401-402 S 1/564-565; *Kaḥḥāla* 6/4-5; Zirikli⁷ 4/55; *EP*² 7/1024-1025. Cf. also Sam'ānī: *Methodik*. His presence in the Dār al-Sumaysāṭī is also documented by an *iğāza*, dated Dū al-Ḥiġga 20th, 535/July 27th, 1141, for another work of tradition, *MAL* 1/74.

130. V. *infra* fol. 6b line 9 and 12, fol. 8b line 5.

131. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8a line 13-19.

132. Abū Ḍarr 'Abd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī: *Siyar* 17/554-563; Fück 72-75; *GAS* 1/231; *Kaḥḥāla* 6/32; Zirikli⁷ 3/269.

133. Fück 73.

134. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a: *Wafāyāt* 1/170-171; *Siyar* 20/344-348; *Wāfi* 7/121-122.

135. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Ḥaḍramī is only mentioned in *Siyar* 20/345 (as al-Ḥuṭay'a's teacher).

al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Ġalīl b. Abī Sa'īd,¹³⁶ who had obtained it from Abū Darr. Al-Yūnīnī prized this manuscript for its correctness and thoroughness as did the *muḥaddiṭ* al-Ṣarīfīnī (581-641/1185-1243),¹³⁷ who had studied in the eastern lands of the Islamic world and finally died in Damascus, and whom al-Yūnīnī calls « our *ṣayḥ* ». Its variants are marked in al-Yūnīnī's text by the isolated version of the letter *hā'*.¹³⁸

4th 139 — In addition, al-Yūnīnī was told (*aḥbara-nī*) the tradition of Abū Darr by his teacher al-Hamaḍānī from al-Silafī,¹⁴⁰ who had an *iğāza* from the Andalusian Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (476-544/1083-1149),¹⁴¹ the author of the renowned paraenetic poem about the observances of a Muslim towards the Prophet Muḥammad entitled *al-Šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. In Cordoba, Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ heard Ibn Sukkara (ca. 454-514/1062-1120),¹⁴² a student of the distinguished Andalusian theologian al-Bāġī (403-474/1013-1081),¹⁴³ who stayed for three years in Mecca, where he attended Abū Darr's lectures. Through Ibn Sukkara and al-Bāġī Abū Darr's tradition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* became the one preferred in Spain.¹⁴⁴

These were the ways of transmission by which al-Yūnīnī endeavoured to trace the versions of Ibn Ḥammuwayhi as conveyed by Abū Darr, al-Mustamlī, and al-Kuṣmīhanī. For the variants of each of them, he used the initial versions of the letters *hā'* for Ibn Ḥammuwayhi, *sīn*¹⁴⁵ for al-Mustamlī, and *hā'* for al-Kuṣmīhanī, combining the letters where necessary. He wrote the abbreviation either over the word in question or in the margin. Where a word was missing in one of the texts, he added *lā* to the abbreviation. In cases where all three *ṣayḥ*-s of Abū Darr diverged from his *handexemplar*, he wrote the variants in the margin together with *ṣaḥḥa*.¹⁴⁶

5th 147 — Beyond these three witnesses of the "second layer", al-Yūnīnī consulted the testimony of two others, namely al-Firabrī's disciples al-Marwazī (301-371/913-982)¹⁴⁸ and Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Makki al-Ġurġānī (d. 373/983).¹⁴⁹ They were the

136. This obscure individual must be much older than the only traditionist with a similar name I could find, the teacher of al-Sam'ānī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ġalīl b. Abī Sa'īd al-Mu'addil Musnid Harat (470-562/1078-1166); *Taḍkira* 4/1318; *Siyar* 20/451.

137. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Azhar al-Ṣarīfīnī al-Ḥanbalī: *Siyar* 23/89-90; *Wāfi* 6/141; *Ḥanābila* 2/227-230.

138. V. *infra* fol. 6b line 9, 11 and 21; fol. 8b line 1.

139. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8b line 26; fol. 9a line 3.

140. For these two v. *supra*.

141. Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī: *Wafāyāt* 3/483-485; *Taḍkira* 4/1304-1307; *Siyar* 20/212-217; *Wāfi* 3/483-485; *GAL*² 1/455-456 S 1/630-632; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/16-17; *Zirikli*⁷ 5/99; *IE*² 4/289-290.

142. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Fira al-Ṣadafi Ibn Sukkara: *Siyar* 19/376-378; *Wāfi* 13/43-44; *Kaḥḥāla* 4/56; *Zirikli*⁷ 2/255; *Fück* 77; *IE*² 8/707-708.

143. Abū al-Walid Sulaymān b. Ḥalaf b. Sa'd al-Bāġī: *Wafāyāt* 2/408-409; *Siyar* 18/535-545; *Wāfi* 15/372-374; *GAL*² 1/534 S 1/743-744; *Kaḥḥāla* 4/261-262; *Zirikli*⁷ 3/125; *IE*² 1/864-865.

144. *Fück* 73-74.

145. Al-Qaṣṭallānī (*Iršād* 34) reads it as *sīn-tā'*.

146. V. *infra* fol. 6b line 9; fol. 7a line 5, where the choice of these letters and details of usage are explained. Cf. also *Fück* 80-81.

147. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8a line 19-23.

148. Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Marwazī: *Wafāyāt* 4/208-209; *Siyar* 12/313-315; *Wāfi* 2/71-72; *Fück* 65.

149. *Fück* 66.

ṣayḥ-s of the Andalusian *muḥaddiṭ* and jurist al-Aṣīlī (314-392/926-1002),¹⁵⁰ who heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca and Baghdad before al-Marwazī and also in Baghdad before al-Ġurġānī. In the Madrasa al-Ḍiyā'iyya in Damascus,¹⁵¹ al-Yūnīnī found a manuscript endowed to it which contained al-Aṣīlī's tradition together with marginalia written by the greatest *muḥaddiṭ* of his time in the Maghrib, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (368-463/978-1071).¹⁵² For the variants taken from this volume, al-Yūnīnī choose the letter *ṣād*.¹⁵³

6th 154 — The tradition of al-Aṣīlī was verified by the transmission that 'Alī al-Yūnīnī obtained (*aḥbara-nī*) from his father, related by al-Ḥuṣū'ī¹⁵⁵ on the basis of an *iġāza* of Ibn 'Attāb (433-520/1041-1126),¹⁵⁶ who for his part had a licence from Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and was himself a teacher of Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī. In this instance, Ibn 'Attāb transmitted on the one hand from his own father Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (383-462/994-1069),¹⁵⁷ who got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Aṣīlī's pupil al-Wāsiṭī (d. 437/1045).¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, he had obtained an *iġāza* from a certain Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Nabāt,¹⁵⁹ another immediate disciple of al-Aṣīlī.

7th 160 — Finally, al-Yūnīnī attended lectures (*ḥaddaṭa-nī*) from the *handexemplar* of the Damascene historian Ibn 'Asākir (499-571/1106-1176)¹⁶¹ by Ibn 'Allān al-Qaysī (573-652/1177-1254)¹⁶² on the basis of an *iġāza*. He is known for being the only disciple of the historian Ibn Ḥallikān (608-681/1211-1281).¹⁶³ This manuscript was further transmitted to al-Yūnīnī (*ḥaddaṭa-nī*) by 'Alī Ibn 'Asākir's nephew and pupil Zayn al-Umanā' al-Ḥasan

150. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Aṣīlī: Ibn al-Faraḍī 1/290-291; *Tadkira* 3/1024; *Siyar* 16/560; *Wāfi* 17/7.

151. This madrasa had been erected by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad al-Maḡdisī al-Ġammā'ī al-Dimaṣqī al-Šāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī (569-643/1173-1245; *Siyar* 23/126-130; *Wāfi* 4/65-66; *GAL*² 1/504 S 1/690; Kaḥḥāla 10/263-264; *Zirikli*⁷ 6/255; Sauvaire 4/470-472) in the extramural Damascene quarter al-Šāliḥiyya where he was born. He endowed not only property but also his rich library to the madrasa. On his travels through the eastern Islamic world, he is said to have attended more than 500 *ṣayḥ*-s, among them al-Ḥuṣū'ī, al-Būširī, and al-Silafī. He was related through his mother to the clan of the Banū Qudāma (Drory 94 and table 1; Pouzet: *Damas* 83; for the fate of the library v. Leder 59-60).

152. Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurtubī: *Wafāyāt* 7/66-72; Fück 67-68; *GAL*² 1/453-454 S 1/628-629; Kaḥḥāla 13/315-316; *Zirikli*⁷ 8/240; *EI*² 3/674. Among Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *ṣayḥ*-s was al-Bāġī, among his pupils Ibn Sukkara. He also gave an *iġāza* to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Attāb.

153. V. *infra* fol. 6b line 9 and 12; fol. 8b line 2.

154. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8b line 10-17.

155. V. *supra* note 40.

156. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Attāb b. Muḥsin al-Qurtubī: *Šila* 2/348-350; *Tadkira* 4/1271; *Siyar* 19/514-515; *Wāfi* 18/258; Kaḥḥāla 5/184; *Zirikli*⁷ 3/327; Fück 71.

157. *Šila* 2/544-546; *Wāfi* 4/79 giving an incorrect date of his death.

158. Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Ṭābit b. Abī al-Ġahm al-Wāsiṭī: *Šila* 1/50-51.

159. The only reference to him is found in *Šila* 2/544 as *muḥaddiṭ* of Ibn 'Attāb. In both manuscripts of the *Rumūz*, the name is written as Banāt.

160. Described in *Rumūz*, v. *infra* fol. 8b line 18-20.

161. For him v. *supra* note 96.

162. Saḍīd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Makki b. al-Musallam b. Makki Ibn 'Allān al-Qaysī: *Siyar* 23/286-287.

163. Šams al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥallikān al-Šāfi'ī: *Wāfi* 6/121-124; *Manhal* (Wiet) 37; *GAL*² 1/398-400 S 1/561-562; Kaḥḥāla 2/59-60; *Zirikli*⁷ 1/220; *EI*² 3/832-833.

(544-627/1149-1230).¹⁶⁴ Al-Yūnīnī signed Ibn 'Asākir's readings by the isolated version of the letter (*šin*).¹⁶⁵

So al-Yūnīnī did not establish a recension of his own, containing the wording that he considered to be authentic, but a text with variants and a critical apparatus.¹⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that he marked only those variants he had extracted from written records available in Damascus. How far he took into account the versions n° 1, the manuscript which he only read at al-Ḍarīr's in Cairo, and n° 4 and 6, which he had received by oral transmission, is not clear.

The four manuscripts which he used for reference were approximately a hundred years old and older : n° 2 was written before 553/1158 (the year of death of Abū al-Waqt), n° 3 before 560/1164 (the year of death of Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a), n° 5 before 463/1071 (the year of death of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr), and n° 7 before 571/1176 (the year of death of Ibn 'Asākir). Moreover, they all had been read before and authenticated by outstanding traditionists. Two of them, n° 2 and 7, were read while al-Yūnīnī was listening. The versions of the other two (n° 3 and 5) he was, apparently, not able to hear himself. In these cases, he especially stresses the superior qualities of the manuscripts. So, even though al-Yūnīnī relied only on written records, he attached great value to the audition of the text in lectures. He himself had his reading scrutinized by the greatest grammarian of the time, Ibn Mālik,¹⁶⁷ the author of the highly regarded poem about Arabic grammar entitled *al-Alfiyya*. During 71 sessions, Ibn Mālik listened to the reading of the volume by 'Alī al-Yūnīnī in the presence of several learned men who compared it with their own verified manuscripts. Whenever there was a question concerning pronunciation or grammar, Ibn Mālik gave his expert opinion.¹⁶⁸

Al-Qaṣṭallānī lists two further manuscripts with which the *handexemplar* was collated.¹⁶⁹ The first was read by 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Maqdisī al-Ġammā'īlī (d. 600/1203)¹⁷⁰ before al-Artāḥī, while the other one was a copy written by Abū Ṣādiq al-Madanī and endowed to the mosque of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Cairo.¹⁷¹ The variants of these two books were signed with red ink. Al-Artāḥī and al-Madanī belong to the chain of transmitters of al-Ḍarīr, whose tradition al-Yūnīnī read in Cairo (n° 1). One cannot rule out the possibility that he also used these two manuscripts during one of his sojourns in Cairo, but since he does not mention them in the *Rumūz*, the red marks were most likely added by a later scholar. The same seems to be true of some additional abbreviations which al-Qaṣṭallānī could not interpret.

The fate of al-Yūnīnī's handexemplar

Al-Yūnīnī's personal copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* containing all the variants that he had found in the manuscripts was sold in Cairo after his death. In the introduction to his *Iršād al-sārī fī šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī*, al-Qaṣṭallānī gives the following account of the fate of the

164. Zayn al-Umanā' Abū al-Barakāt al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir: *Siyar* 22/284-285; *Wāfi* 12/253-254; Pouzet: *Descendence* 522.

165. V. *infra* fol. 6b line 9 and 12: *šin*; fol. 8b line 4: *šin*.

166. Cf. also Fück 82.

167. For him v. *supra* note 99.

168. *Iršād* 34; Fück 81.

169. *Iršād* 34; Fück 80-81, n° 5-6.

170. V. *supra* note 111.

171. Maqrīzī 2/246; Creswell: *Chronology* 41-42; Petry 340.

handexemplar which consisted of two volumes :¹⁷² according to a note al-Qaṣṭallānī saw on the back of a manuscript in al-Azhar, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aqbugā 'Abd al-Wāhid, an emir of the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (regn. 709-741/1310-1341), had bought the *handexemplar* for about ten thousand dinārs. He then endowed it to the madrasa founded by himself in 734/1333.¹⁷³ At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, it was lost, but on Ġumādā I 13th, 916/August 18th, 1510, al-Qaṣṭallānī found the second volume. Some time later, he obtained the first one in the booksellers' market. In the last ten days of Muḥarram 917/April 1511, he completed the collation with a manuscript of the *Yūnīniyya* copied by the *imām* and *muḥaddiṭ* Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mizzī al-Guzūlī.¹⁷⁴ This book was endowed to the mausoleum of Amīr Tankiz Buḡā in the northern cemetery at the foot of the Muqattam¹⁷⁵ outside al-Bāb al-Maḥrūq.¹⁷⁶ Al-Qaṣṭallānī appreciated it even more than the *handexemplar*. Maybe it was more legible.

On the first page of al-Yūnīnī's *handexemplar*, there was a certificate of audition in the hand of Ibn Mālik, and at the end of the volume, al-Yūnīnī had written a note about his cooperation with Ibn Mālik.¹⁷⁷

The fate of the *handexemplar* after al-Qaṣṭallānī is obscure. According to Sezgin, at the time of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (regn. 1293-1327/1876-1909), it was kept in an Istanbul library until the Sultan sent it to Cairo to have the *Ṣaḥīḥ* printed. Since then the traces of the *handexemplar* have been lost. Sezgin speculates that the edition printed in Bulāq in 1313/1895-1896 is largely based on al-Yūnīnī's efforts.¹⁷⁸

The explanation of the redaction (i.e. the *Rumūz* 'alā *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḡārī*) was not incorporated into the *handexemplar*, but had been composed by al-Yūnīnī as a separate treatise. Evidently, it was not known to al-Qaṣṭallānī. In the Berlin manuscript, the *Rumūz* forms the first part of a compound volume, followed by al-Buḡārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The whole book is written in the hand of a certain *ṣayḥ* Abū al-Rāḡī Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Margūbī al-Ḥanafī al-Māturidī, about whose identity I have been unable to find any information. He completed the manuscript on Šafar 21st, 1241/October 5th, 1825, in an unnamed locality. As all manuscripts of Rescher's collection whose provenance is given to have come from Anatolia or Rumelia, probably the same is true of this one. At the end of the *Rumūz* (fol. 9a) the writer copied a note stating that they were attached (to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*) by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Badrānī on Ġumādā I 21st, 835/January

172. *Iršād* 33-35.

173. Inscriptions in the madrasa, which was built against the north-west facade of al-Azhar, give the year 740/1339 as the date of the completion of the dome and the minaret; cf. *Répertoire* vol. 15, n° 5791 and 5800. MAE 1/38. See also Petry 335.

174. Probably identical with Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šafī b. Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šūfī (697-777/1298-1375), *imām* at the Ḥānqāh al-Baybarsiyya and known for his handsome writing; *Durar* 3/408-409. For the convent which was founded by the later Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Baybars II al-Ġāṣankir (regn. 708-709/1320-1310) in 706/1306-1307 in the north of the older Ḥānqāh Sa'id al-Su'adā', and was considered as the most sumptuous one in Egypt in the end of the 14th century; v. Maqrīzī 2/416; Petry 328.

175. The mausoleum of Amīr Tankiz-Buḡā was completed in 764/1362, cf. MAE 1/113 n° 85. Petry 340.

176. The "burnt gate", the former Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn, "gate of the merchants of clover", got this name after a quarrelling group of mamlūks had set fire to it in 652/1254, Maqrīzī 1/383. It was situated in the east of the Ayyubid city wall near the Mosque of al-Aslam al-Bahā'i, MAE 1/24-25 and fig. 10; Map H6; MAE 2/42-43.

177. *Iršād* 34; Fück 81 n. 2 remarks that the year 676/1277 for the cooperation mentioned in *Iršād* is incorrect, for Ibn Mālik died in 672/1274, cf. *supra* note 99.

178. GAS 1/117. As I only recently became aware of the Beirut edition (in the 70 s) prepared by Aḥmad Muḥammad Šākir, I could not take it into account for this study. According to the editor, it is based on the 1895-1896 print called *al-Sulṭaniyya*.

25th, 1432. Al-Badrānī lived most of his life as a *muḥaddiṭ* and sufi in Cairo and died there in 837/1434. Unfortunately, we are not told how and where he had found the *Rumūz* and whether the *handexemplar* was available to him. So we have to search his biography and his *isnād* for a link with al-Yūnīnī.

Al-Badrānī

Al-Ġamāl Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. (al-)Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Badrānī al-Šāfi'ī¹⁷⁹ came from the village of Minyat Badrān at the eastern extremity of the Nile delta.¹⁸⁰ There he was born on Šawwāl 23rd, 787/November 27th, 1385, and received his first instruction in jurisprudence, the Arabic language, and *ḥadīṭ*. Like most mediaeval scholars, he travelled for a time to various masters. Perhaps he accompanied his elder brother al-Šams Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Ibn al-Faqīh (782-858/1381-1454),¹⁸¹ who went to Cairo in 795/1392 for the first time and definitely left Badrān after their father's death in 808/1405¹⁸² to go to Damietta and later on to Cairo. Al-Badrānī seems to have been in the Mamluk capital in 800/1397, for this is the year mentioned in the *isnād* of our *Ṣaḥīḥ* (if we rightly assume that it is al-Badrānī's *isnād*¹⁸³), and most likely it was in Cairo that he heard al-Buhārī's collection. At any rate, it is certain that he finally settled in Cairo after a sojourn in Damietta.

Like his brother, Abū Ṭāhir took residence in the Ḥānqāh Sa'id al-Su'adā', living there as a sufi. This convent had been founded by Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 569/1173 in the northeast district of the old Fāṭimid city. It was the first one of similar institutions for the support of poor sufis, and by the turn of the 9th/15th century, it had become a centre for eminent scholars.¹⁸⁴ One of the extraordinary persons of this convent was the master of calligraphy of his time, Ibn al-Šā'ig (b. bef. 770-845/1368-1442).¹⁸⁵ Abū Ṭāhir became his pupil and copied many books for himself as well as for others.

Attending different masters, he improved his knowledge of Islamic learning. Al-Saḥāwī gives a list of scholars from whom Abū Ṭāhir al-Badrānī received a note of audition. One of the most prominent of these was Muḥammad Ibn al-Ġazarī (751-833/1350-1429),¹⁸⁶ the famous reciter of the Qur'ān and author of *al-Muqaddima al-ġazariyya* and other relevant works on recitation. Ibn al-Ġazarī was in Cairo in Mamluk service, but then had to flee from the hatred of his master. He went to the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I (regn. 791-805/1389-1403), was captured together with the Sultan by Timūr Lang (regn. 771-807/1370-1405) and deported to Samarqand. After Timūr's death, he established himself as *qāḍī* in Shiraz.

179. His biography appears in *Daw'* 7/227-228; Ziriklī⁷ 6/87.

180. Situated in the south-east of Damietta and a few kilometres to the west of al-Manzala, cf. Halm 2/732.

181. *Daw'* 7/787-788.

182. *Daw'* 3/112.

183. V. *infra* the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Badrānī.

184. Petry 327-328; Fernandez 21-25. For the internal organization, administration and the influence of the *ḥānqāh*-s in the Mamluk state v. *ibid.*, *passim*.

185. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Zayn al-Qāhiri al-Mukattib Ibn al-Šā'ig: *Daw'* 4/161-162; Ziriklī⁷ 3/343; *EP*² 3/926.

186. Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ġazarī al-Dimašqī al-Širāzī al-Šāfi'ī: *GAL*² 2/257-262 S 2/274-278; Kaḥḥāla 11/291-292; Ziriklī⁷ 7/45-46; *EP*² 3/753.

Al-Badrānī's most important *ṣayḥ* was Abū Zur'a Ibn al-'Irāqī (762-826/1360-1423).¹⁸⁷ He was a teacher at various madrasas in his native city of Cairo and deputy-judge (*nā'ib qāḍī*).¹⁸⁸ Finally, in the year 824/1421, Abū Zur'a became the Šāfi'ite chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Egypt and thus exercised the most influential civilian office in the Mamluk state,¹⁸⁹ but was dismissed after only one year because he had a fall out with the Mamluk rulers. In his early youth, his father, whom we will introduce below as one of Abū Zur'a's transmitters, had taken him on travels to Damascus and to the holy places Mecca and Medina.

Other scholars with whom al-Badrānī studied were the traditionist, historian, and later *qāḍī* of Mecca, al-Makkī (775-832/1373-1429),¹⁹⁰ whom al-Maqrīzī calls an « ocean of knowledge without successor in the Ḥiğāz »;¹⁹¹ the Cairene traditionist Ibn al-Kuwayk al-Rabā'ī (737-821/1337-1418),¹⁹² who attracted pupils because in his last years he was the only one left to relate from certain *ṣayḥ*-s; 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ġamā'a (749-819/1349-1416),¹⁹³ originating from the great Syro-Egyptian learned family of the Banū Ġamā'a and being a great-grand-son, grand-son, and nephew of chief justices of Egypt. Al-'Izz was educated in the traditional Islamic and Arabic sciences as well as in other sciences such as medicine and astronomy.

Further there are al-Šams al-Bayğūrī (ca. 795¹⁹⁴-863/1392-1459),¹⁹⁵ a pupil of Šaraf al-Subkī as well as of Abū Zur'a and an expert in the Arabic language and prosody, and the Damascene 'Ā'īša al-Maqdisiyya (723-816/1323-1413),¹⁹⁶ who is said towards the end of her life to have been the outstanding traditionist of her time and the last one to transmit Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* with a "high" *isnād* by hearing (*'āliyan bi-al-samā'*).

Al-Badrānī also had some disciples of his own. He recited *ḥadīṭ* in al-Mizzī's foundation in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim,¹⁹⁷ for he had been the elementary teacher (*faqīh*) of the son of

187. Walī al-Dīn Abū Zur'a Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-'Irāqī al-Kurdī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi'ī: *Daw'* 1/336-344; *GAL* 2/79 S 2/71; *GAS* 1/499-500; *Kaḥḥāla* 1/270; *Zirikli*⁷ 1/148; *Salibi: Listes* 90 n° 49.

188. For this office v. Petry 228-230.

189. Abū Zur'a Aḥmad came to office after the death of Ġalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar al-Bulqīnī (b. 762/1361) and was succeeded by Umar's brother 'Alam al-Dīn Šāliḥ (791-868/1389-1464), who both were members of one of the most brilliant judicial clans in Egypt during the Mamluk era (*Salibi: Listes* 90-91). For the offices of the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in Mamluk Egypt and especially the connection of the Bulqīnī family to the latter v. Petry 230-241; v. also *El*² 1/1308-1309.

190. Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī al-Makkī al-Mālikī: *GAL*² 2/221-222 *S* 2/221-222; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/300; *Zirikli*⁷ 5/331.

191. Quoted from *Zirikli*⁷ loc. cit.

192. Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kuwayk al-Rabā'ī al-Iskandarī al-Šāfi'ī: *Zirikli*⁷ 7/44.

193. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Ġamā'a al-Šāfi'ī: *GAL*² 2/116 *S* 2/111-112; *Kaḥḥāla* 9/111; *Zirikli*⁷ 6/56-57. For the Banū Ġamā'a v. *Salibi: The Banū Jamā'a* 100-103, and genealogical table; and *El*² 3/748-749.

194. According to *Daw'* 6/244, which was completed in 896/1491, al-Šams Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Bayğūrī al-Šāfi'ī was born « about a hundred years ago ».

195. *Kaḥḥāla* 8/192; *Daw'* 6/244.

196. Umm Muḥammad 'Ā'īša bint Muḥammad bint 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisiyya: *Kaḥḥāla* 5/56-57; *Kaḥḥāla: Nisā'* 3/187-188; *Zirikli*⁷ 3/214; *Daw'* 12/81.

197. I could not identify this *waqf* of al-Mizzī. Maybe it was a foundation made by the great *muhaddīṭ* Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥağğāğ Yūsuf b. al-Zakī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Kalbī al-Qudā'ī al-Šāfi'ī al-Mizzī (654-718/1256-1319), who had travelled through Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Ḥiğāz before he settled down in Damascus. For the Mosque of al-Ḥākim v. Maqrīzī 2/277-280; *MAE* 1/65-106; Petry 333-334.

one of al-Mizzī's mamlūks, and the *muḥaddiṭ* and *muqri'* Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Na'im Riḍwān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-'Uqbī al-Mustamlī al-Miṣrī (769-853/1367- 1449)¹⁹⁸ had his son hear him. The sons of a certain TL'WY, whom I could not identify, were taught by al-Badrānī the art of reciting the Qur'ān. In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, al-Badrānī also functioned as preacher of the Friday sermon (*ḥaṭīb*)¹⁹⁹ together with an individual called al-Ṣadr b. Rawq, and later on with al-Ṣadr's son. Finally, he became prayer leader (*imām*)²⁰⁰ in a mosque called Ġāmi' Kamāl.²⁰¹

Before his death on Ramaḍān 20th, 837/April 30th, 1434, he had gone on a pilgrimage. He was buried in the enclosure of Sa'id al-Su'adā'. More than four decades later, his younger brother al-Zayn Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad was laid to rest at his side.²⁰²

Al-Badrānī was succeeded as *imām* and reciter of *ḥadīṭ* by his son al-Šams Abū al-Ḥayr Muḥammad (810-856/1407-1452).²⁰³ This Ibn al-Badrānī, as he was called, had fallen in love with a poet named Abū al-Ḥayr Ibn al-Naḥḥās. In order to make him the gift of a horse, he sold a copy of al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and of another collection of *ḥadīṭ*-s, the *Kitāb al-tarḡīb wa al-tarḥīb* of al-Yūnīnī's teacher, al-Mundirī,²⁰⁴ written in his father's own hand. Maybe this *Ṣaḥīḥ* was to become the sample — or perhaps the sample of the sample... — of our copy, now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin.

The transmission of al-Buḥārī's Ṣaḥīḥ to al-Badrānī

At the beginning of Berlin copy (fol. 10b-11b), there is a three-fold chain of traditionists (*ruwāt*) which starts : « [...] Abū Zur'a Aḥmad Walī al-Dīn [...] Ibn al-'Irāqī [...] informed us [...] in the year 800/1397. » As Abū Zur'a is the *ṣayḥ* of al-Badrānī, we can proceed from the assumption that it is al-Badrānī who transmitted the book from which the Berlin manuscript was copied.

According to our manuscript Abū Zur'a himself received three different traditions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The first was up to (Ibn) al-Zabīdī i.e.; the same one as that of al-Yūnīnī's *handexemplar*, namely from Ibn Ḥammuwayhi to al-Dāwūdī to Abū al-Waqt to (Ibn) al-Zabīdī, the teacher of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and his father.²⁰⁵ Abū Zur'a heard this version read by his own father, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī (725-806/1325-1404).²⁰⁶ Born near Cairo to a family of Kurdish origin, the young Zayn al-Dīn made extensive journeys to the places of learning in the Ḥiǧāz, Syria, the Elburz, and Tunisia. Several times he went on pilgrimage. From 788/1386 to 791/1389, he was *qāḍī* of Medina. Zayn al-Dīn's *ṣayḥ*, Bahā'

198. GAL² 2/92 S 2/84; Kaḥḥāla 4/166; Ziriklī⁷ 3/27.

199. For this official v. Petry 260-262.

200. For the *imāma* v. Petry 258-260.

201. This mosque I was unable to identify.

202. For this youngest and apparently less renowned brother v. *Ḍaw'* 7/228. The burial of a sufi inside the *ḥānqāh* seems to be an exception. There was a special cemetery called Turbat al-Šūfiyya outside the city for the residents of the Ḥānqāh Sa'id al-Su'adā', cf. Fernandez 22.

203. *Ḍaw'* 9/73.

204. GAL² 1/452 S 1/627.

205. V. *supra* the transmission of the *handexemplar*.

206. Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Irāqī: *Ḍaw'* 4/171-178; GAL² 2/77 S 2/69-70; GAS 1/155; Kaḥḥāla 5/204; Ziriklī⁷ 3/344-345; MAL 2/1-4 (with a copy of an *iǧāza* from al-'Irāqī's own hand).

al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Subkī (707-777/1307-1375),²⁰⁷ was a literary man as well as a legal scholar and temporary *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Egypt and of Syria. He transmitted from two disciples of (Ibn) al-Zabīdī: the rather unknown Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Šāliḥī (d. 699/1299)²⁰⁸ and the Damascene *muḥadditha* Sitt al-Wuzarā' (624-717/1226-1317),²⁰⁹ a member of the above-mentioned Banū Munāğğā family. Sitt al-Wuzarā' spent most of her life in her native city, but for some time she also taught in Cairo.

The second tradition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was the "Meccan path" of Abū Ḍarr.²¹⁰ Abū Zur'a heard it for the first time as a little boy in Mecca in the year 768/1366, when it was read before a certain Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Anṣārī.²¹¹ Eight years later he attended the lectures of Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Mu'addīn (696/1296 or 697/1297-778/1376),²¹² an official in the holy places charged with providing water for pilgrims. He as well as the former related the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the *imām* in the holy mosque of Mecca, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī (636-722/1238-1322),²¹³ who spent all his life in the Ḥiğāz, and his brother Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad (633-714/1235-1315).²¹⁴ Among the *ṣayḥ*-s of both brothers was Ibn al-Ġummayzī, one of al-Yūnīnī's teachers,²¹⁵ but the affiliation listed by al-Badrānī goes back to the less known 'Abd al-Raḥmān Futūḥ al-Makkī (d. 645/1247).²¹⁶ He studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with 'Alī al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 571/1175 or 575/1179 or 576/1180),²¹⁷ the last pupil of Abū Ḍarr's son and successor Abū Maktūm 'Isā (b. 415/1024).²¹⁸ The traces of 'Isā's life disappear in the year 496/1102, shortly after he had sold his father's personal manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to one of his students.

Abū Zur'a thirdly received al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the tradition called the "Egyptian way" from Karīma to al-Naḥwī to al-Būšīrī, and from Karīma to al-Farrā' to al-Artāhī, being up to these links the version al-Yūnīnī read before al-Ḍarīr in Cairo.²¹⁹ Abū Zur'a heard this version several times from his father and later read it himself before him. His father transmitted it from Ibn Šāhid al-Ġayš (or: al-Ġuyūš; d. 746/1345),²²⁰ the last individual with a "high" *isnād* in the "Egyptian" tradition. Besides having an *iğāza* of al-Yūnīnī's

207. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Barr b. Yahyā al-Subkī al-Šāfi'i: *Wāfi* 3/210-214; *Durar* 3/490-491; *Manḥal* (Wiet) 323 n° 2167; Kaḥḥāla 10/125; Ziriklī⁷ 6/184; Salibi: *Listes* 85-86 n° 20.

208. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī Ni'am Muḥammad al-Šāliḥī: *Šaḍarāt* 5/444.

209. Umm Muḥammad Wazana (Wazīra) bint 'Umar b. As'ad Ibn al-Munāğğā al-Tanūḥiyya al-Ḥanbaliyya Sitt al-Wuzarā': *Wāfi* 15/117; Kaḥḥāla: *Nisā'* 2/173; Ziriklī⁷ 3/78; MAL 1/56-57, 6; a genealogy of the Banū Munāğğā family, *ibid.* 55-61.

210. For the tradition of Abū Ḍarr v. *supra* n° 3. The lineage from him to al-Yūnīnī is completely different, rather an "Andalusian" or at least "western" one.

211. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-Anṣārī al-Mālīkī is mentioned only in *Ḍaw'* 1/337 as Abū Zur'a's teacher.

212. Šihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Sālim b. Yāqūt al-Makkī al-Mu'addīn: *Durar* 1/144; *Šaḍarāt* 6/255.

213. Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī al-Šāfi'i: *Wāfi* 6/126-127; *Durar* 1/56; *Šaḍarāt* 6/56; GAL S 2/612; Kaḥḥāla 1/79-80; Ziriklī⁷ 1/63.

214. Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī: *Wāfi* 7/320; *Durar* 1/255.

215. V. *supra* note 95.

216. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥaramī Futūḥ al-Makkī: *Siyar* 23/150.

217. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥumayd b. 'Ammār al-Ṭarābulusī: *Siyar* 20/541.

218. *Siyar* 19/171; Fück 75. He gave an *iğāza* to al-Silafī (v. *supra* note 81) when the latter made the pilgrimage.

219. Cf. *supra* 1st version.

220. Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī Ibn Šāhid al-Ġayš (al-Ġuyūš): *Durar* 2/466.

Egyptian master al-Ḍarīr,²²¹ Ibn Šāhid al-Ġayš obtained the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from three *ṣayḥ*-s: the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Dimašqī al-Miṣrī (586/1190-670/1271);²²² Ibn 'Azzūn (b. before 590/1293-667/1268);²²³ and Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rašīq, whose dates and circumstances of life are not known.

The same version was studied in Mecca in 776/1374 by Abū Zur'a as a pupil of the Cairo-born jurist and philologist al-Amyūṭī (Umyūṭī) (715-790/1315-1388),²²⁴ who is known for his commentary on the poem *Bānat Su'ād* in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, composed by Muḥammad's contemporary Ka'b b. Zuhayr.²²⁵ Al-Amyūṭī was a disciple of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ġamā'a (639-733/1241-1333),²²⁶ the first outstanding member of the Ibn Ġamā'a clan of Šāfi'ite jurists in the Mamluk era and great-grandfather of al-Badrānī's teacher al-'Izz.²²⁷ Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad began his career in Damascus as a teacher at various madrasas, became *ḥaṭīb* at the Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem and was twice *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Egypt. Al-Amyūṭī's second teacher was al-Šinhāgī (658-724/1260-1324),²²⁸ the son of an emir of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678-689/1279-1290). He transmitted from the same three *ṣayḥ*-s as Ibn Šāhid al-Ġayš and Ibn Ġamā'a.

Al-Yūnīnī does not appear in the *riwāya* of the Berlin manuscript. Yet there exists a connection between him and the last link of all three chains of transmission, i.e. al-Badrānī's *ṣayḥ* Abū Zur'a. Abū Zur'a's father and teacher, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, attended lectures of at least three of al-Yūnīnī's pupils, namely Ibn al-Šayraḡī, Ibn Zabātir, and Ibn al-Ġuwahjī.²²⁹ He also had an *iġāza* of al-Yūnīnī's son 'Abd al-Qādir.²³⁰ Al-'Irāqī seems to have been a central figure for the transmission of *ḥadīṭ* in the 8th/14th century. His travels in search of knowledge were more extensive than that of most of his contemporaries, and he attracted numerous pupils. Both of the great early 9th/15th century commentators of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-'Aynī and Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī, were his disciples. During the years 820's and 830's, both al-'Aynī and Ibn Ḥaġar, whose relationship was contentious, were put in charge of the most influential office of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of their respective *maḏhab*-s.²³¹ Ibn Ḥaġar composed a dirge expressing his deep veneration for his principal teacher, al-'Irāqī.²³²

However, the affiliation to al-Yūnīnī was of minor importance in al-'Irāqī's teaching of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Even when he refers to the tradition of (Ibn) al-Zabīdī, he quotes other pupils of

221. V. *supra* note 117.

222. Mu'īn al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Dimašqī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi'ī: *Wāfi* 7/240.

223. Abū al-Ṭāhir Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn 'Azzūn al-Anṣārī al-Ġazzī al-Šāfi'ī: *Wāfi* 9/144.

224. Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Laḥmī al-Amyūṭī (Umyūṭī) al-Šāfi'ī: *Durar* 1/62-63; *Manḥal* 1/157-162; *Kaḥḥāla* 1/98; *Ziriklī*⁷ 1/64.

225. Also known as *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, *EP*² 1/1011; *GAL*² 1/33 S 1/69; *GAS* 2/229-232.

226. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh Ibn Ġamā'a: *Durar* 280-283; *GAL*² 2/89-90 S 2/80-81; *Kaḥḥāla* 8/201-202; *Ziriklī*⁷ 5/297-298; Pouzet: *Damas* 116, 141, 163; Salibi: *Banū Jamā'a* 99-100; *ibid.*: *Listes* 84 n° 10; 85 n° 15. For the family v. also *EP*² 3/748-749.

227. V. *supra* note 193.

228. Naġm al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Šinhāgī: *Durar* 2/281-282.

229. V. *supra* notes 65, 68 and 69.

230. Vajda 223-224.

231. Ibn Ḥaġar held office for the Šāfi'is several times for a combined total of about 21 years: Muḥarram-Dū al-Qa'da 827/December 1423-1424; 828-833/1425-1429; 834-840/1431-1437; 841-849/1438-1445; 850-851/1446-1447; Rabī' II-Ġumādā 852/June-August 1448 (Salibi: *Listes* 91-92); al-'Aynī for the Ḥanafis two times for about 9 years: 829-833/1426-1429 and 835-842/1432-1438 (*ibid.* 105).

232. For this *marṭiya* v. *MAL* 2/3.

his and not 'Alī al-Yūnīnī.²³³ As a result, in the *isnād* of Ibn Ḥağar and al-'Aynī,²³⁴ al-Yūnīnī is not named. So, although there exists a relation from teacher to disciple between 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and al-Badrānī mediated by traditionists of three generations, in the transmission of Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, this relation did not take effect.

CONCLUSION

The *Rumūz* of 'Alī al-Yūnīnī informs us about the endeavours of a 7th/13th century scholar to trace out the original text of al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by comparing the inferred readings of the *muḥadditūn* of the "second layer", the pupils of al-Buḥārī's principal transmitter, al-Firabrī. Since three of them were heard by Abū Ḍarr, al-Yūnīnī concerned himself especially with his tradition. The different paths of transmission of his authorities are given in full length. Of these, the "Andalusian connections" of al-Yūnīnī, which he orally obtained from his teacher al-Hamaḍānī, leading to Abū Ḍarr (n° 4) and from his father leading to al-Aṣīlī (n° 6), have not been known up to now. Astonishingly, the "Meccan path" to Abū Ḍarr, as it is described by al-Badrānī, does not occur in al-Yūnīnī's research. Maybe this is connected to the fact that he apparently did not make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Among the new pieces of information concerning the paths to al-Yūnīnī are the "Egyptian path" (n° 1), the chains of transmission of the manuscript of Abū Ḍarr's tradition (n° 3) and of his *handexemplar*.

Evidently al-Yūnīnī did not gather as many variant readings as he could get of those circulating in his time, but he was looking for very reliable traditions. He relied only on written records that were available to him in Damascus, not on oral transmission. In his choice of manuscripts he was very particular. The copies he used had all been read and proved by renowned traditionists. Al-Yūnīnī seems to have attached great importance to this fact, as he did not content himself with the key of his authorities given in the *handexemplar*. Rather he composed the *Rumūz* to describe the special quality of each manuscript.

The outcome of his philological work was closely linked to the availability of his *handexemplar*. Containing variants with notes and signs in a critical apparatus, it was less suited for transmission by reading and listening. So, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, when al-Badrānī came across the *Rumūz* and Ibn Ḥağar and al-'Aynī wrote their voluminous commentaries on al-Buḥārī, the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* passed by al-Yūnīnī. Only al-Qaṣṭallānī benefited from his efforts by using his *handexemplar*. If 'Alī al-Yūnīnī had lived in our times and had had our modern methods of reproducing countless identical copies of an edition, his name as an editor of al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* would not have fallen into oblivion.

233. Cf. *supra* the first and third path of transmission of Abū Zur'a.

234. Fück 82. For the *ṣayḥ*-s of Ibn Ḥağar, v. Sublet *passim*.

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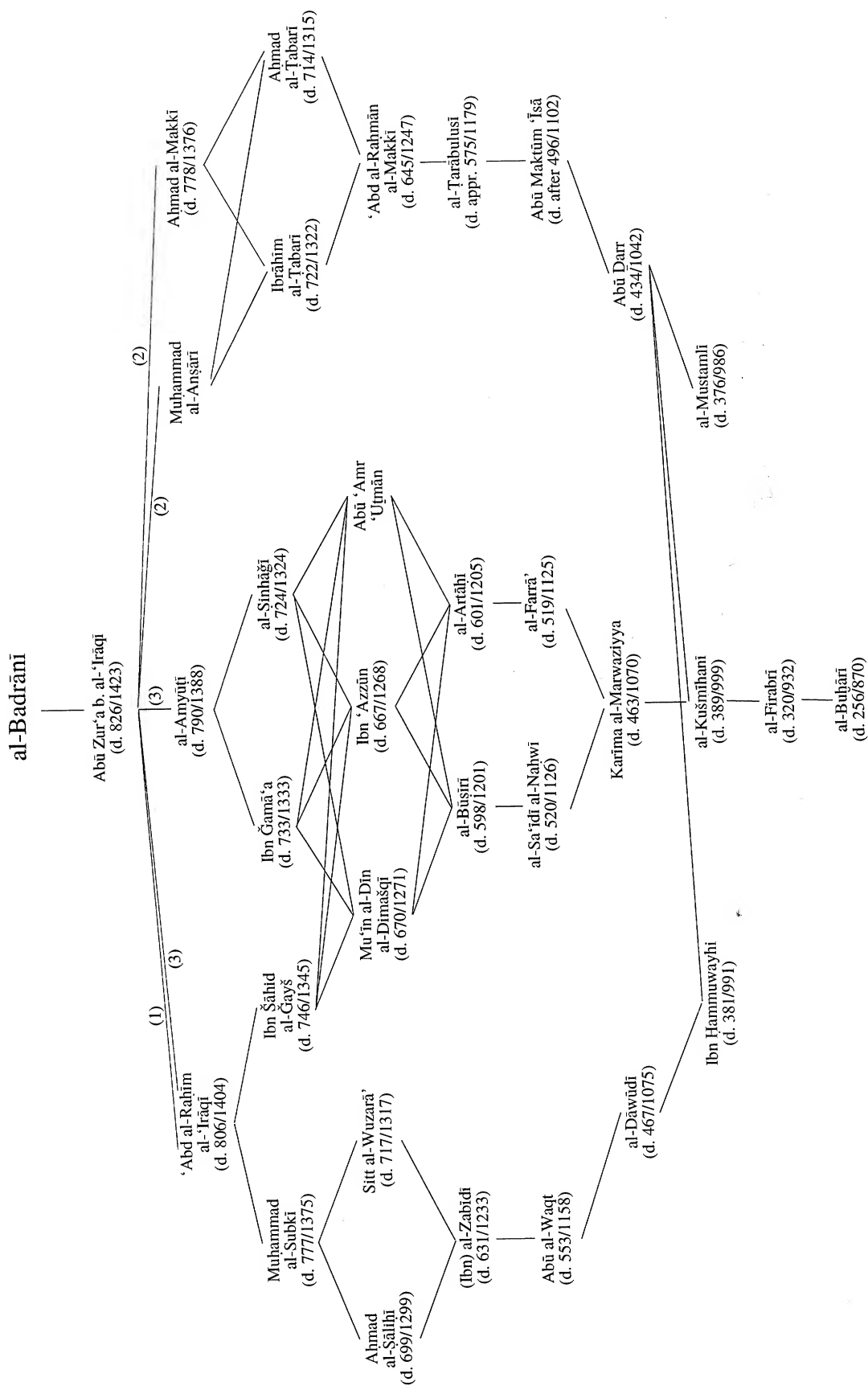
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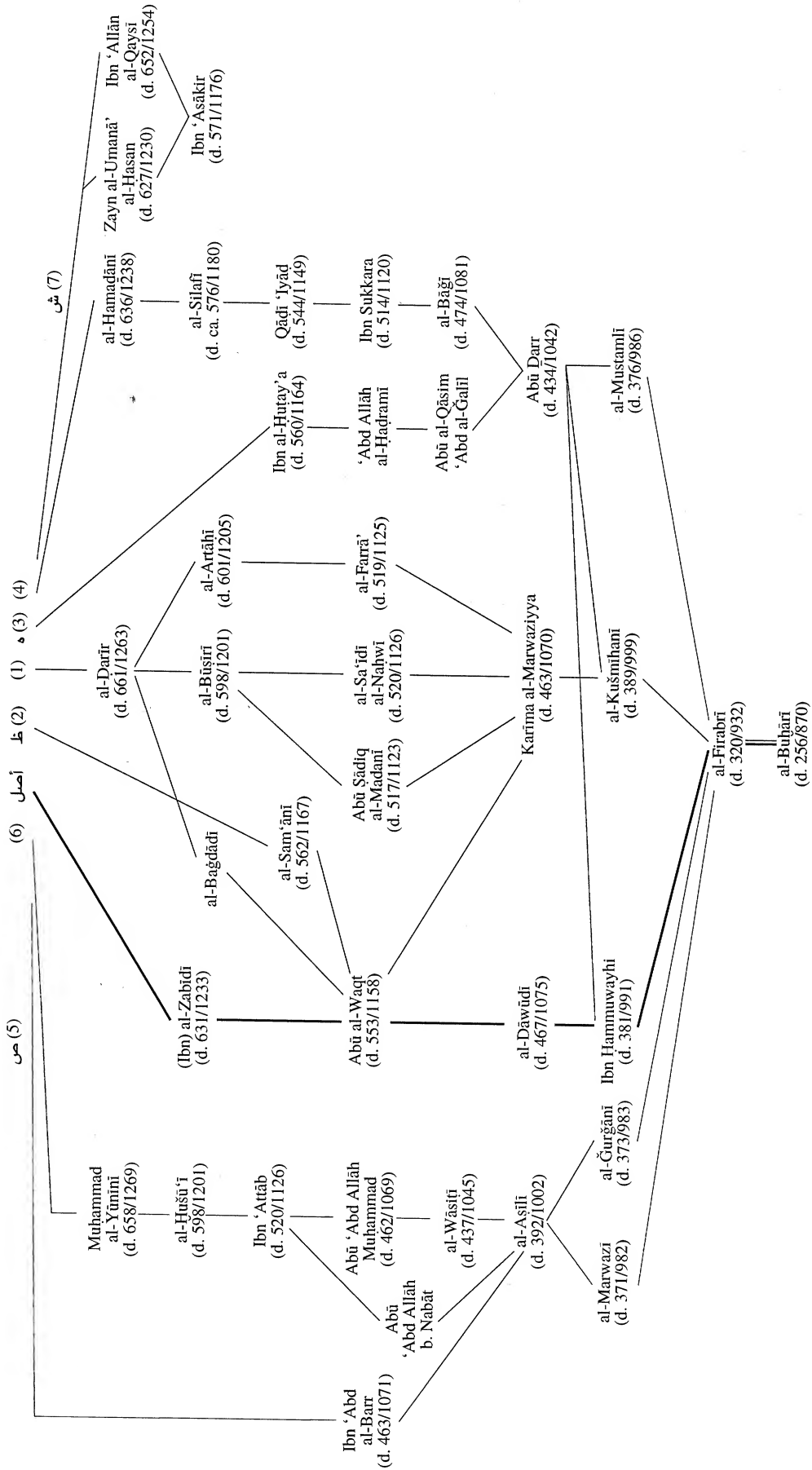
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The path of transmission from al-Buḥārī to al-Badrānī

‘Alī al-Yūnīnī



The path of transmission from al-Buḥārī to ‘Alī al-Yūnīnī

تَرْجُمُهُ أَنَّهُ بَلَسَتْ عِنْدَ الْحَمَوِيِّ مِنْ رِوَايَتِهِ وَهِيَ ثَابِتَةٌ فِي أَصْلِ سَمَاعٍ
 مِنْ رِوَايَةِ الدَّادُودِيِّ عَنِ الْحَمَوِيِّ أَوْ يَرْفَعُهُ فَوْقَهَا بِمَا أَصْطَلَحَ الْحَافِظُ أَبُو
 ذَرٍّ عَلَيْهِ هَذَا سَمْعًا غَنِيًّا وَهِيَ ثَابِتَةٌ بِسَنَدِ الْحَمَوِيِّ مِنْ رِوَايَةِ جَدِّهِ
 هَكَذَا أَوْ سَمِعَ هَذَا فَعَلِمَ ذَلِكَ وَلَيْسَ مَا عَلَنَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَنَّهُ عِنْدَ أَبِي الْهَيْثَمِ
 عَلَى مَا أَرَفُّهُ عَلَيْهِ أَنَّ ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ فَرَوَائِي وَأَمَّا رَقْمَتُ فَرْقَةٍ أَوْ تَبَيَّنَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَمَّا
 فِي أَصْلِ أَوْ فِي هَامِشٍ حَتَّى يَعْلَمَ أَنَّهُ عِنْدَ الْحَافِظِ أَبِي ذَرٍّ كَذَلِكَ وَهُوَ ثَابِتٌ عِنْدَ
 الْحَمَوِيِّ مِنْ طَرِيقِ الدَّادُودِيِّ فَعَلِمَ ذَلِكَ وَعَيْنَتْ بِرِوَايَةِ الْإِمَامِ الْحَافِظِ أَبِي
 ذَرٍّ لِأَمْرَيْنِ أَحَدُهُمَا أَنِّي قَرَأْتُ جَمِيعَ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَلَى
 الشَّيْخِ الْإِمَامِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ شَيْخِ الْقُرْآنِ وَكُتِبَ بِهِم بِالذِّيَا الْمَضْرُوتِ بِالْحَسَنِ
 عَلَى بْنِ شُجَاعٍ عَنْ سَلَمِ الْعَبَّاسِيِّ الْقُرْبَرِيِّ الشَّعْبَوِيِّ بِكَمَالِ الَّذِينَ فِي شَهْرِ رَجَبِ
 بِالْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ مِنْ أَصْلِ سَمَاعٍ بِحَقِّ رِوَايَتِهِ لَهُ عَنْ الْمَشَاحِجِ الثَّلَاثَةِ
 الْيَقَاتِ الْمُسْتَذِينَ إِلَى الْقِسْمِ هَبَّ اللَّهُ بِنَ عَلَى بْنِ سَعْدٍ بِنِ ثَابِتٍ بِنِ
 غَالِبِ بْنِ هَاشِمِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ الْخَزَرَجِيِّ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِالْبُوصَيْرِيِّ وَالْإِمَامِ
 الْمُفَرِّقِ الصَّالِحِ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَامِدِ بْنِ مَفْرُجِ الْحَنْبَلِيِّ
 الْمَضَرِّي وَالشَّافِعِي الْمُسْنَدِ أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَتِيقِ بْنِ بَالِقِ الْبَغْدَادِيِّ
 الْبَغْدَادِيِّ قَالَا الْبُوصَيْرِيُّ أَنْبَأَنَا الْإِمَامُ الْعَلَامَةُ الْمُفَرِّقُ الْحَمَوِيُّ أَبُو
 عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَرْكَاتِ بْنِ هَالِدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْوَّاحِدِ السَّعِيدِيِّ الصُّوفِيِّ
 رَجُلًا اللَّهُ وَقَالَ الْأَرْنَأَجِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا الشَّيْخُ الْمُسْنَدُ أَبُو الْحَسَنِ عَلِيُّ بْنُ
 الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَمْرِو الْقُرْآنِ إِجَارَةً قَالَا أَخْبَرَنَا الْخَزَرَجِيُّ الْعَلَامَةُ أُمُّ الْكِرَامِ
 كَرِيمَةُ بِنْتُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَاتِمِ الْمَرْزُورِيِّ وَقَالَ الْبُوصَيْرِيُّ أَيْضًا
 أَخْبَرَنَا الشَّيْخُ الْمُسْنَدُ أَبُو صَادِقٍ مُرْشِدُ بْنُ بَكْحِيِّ بْنِ قَاسِمِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ
 ابْنِ خَلْفِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ زَعْبَلِ الْمَذَنِّيِّ إِجَارَةً إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ سَمَاعًا أَخْبَرَنَا
 كَرِيمَةُ الْمَرْزُورِيَّةُ قَالَا السَّعِيدِيُّ بِقِرَاءَةٍ سَنَةٍ سِتٍّ وَقَالَ الْبُوصَادِيُّ
 قِرَاءَةً وَأَنَا أَسْمَعُ فِي شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِينَ أَلْفًا وَخَمْسِينَ وَارْتِمَاءً
 بِكُنَّةٍ شَرَفَهَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى قَالَتْ أَنْبَأَنَا أَبُو الْهَيْثَمِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْكَلْبِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ
 الْكَلْبِيِّ بْنِ زُرَّاجٍ الْكُشَمِيهِيِّ قِرَاءَةً عَلَيْهِ وَأَنَا أَسْمَعُ فِي جُمَادَى الْأُولَى سَنَةِ
 أَنْبَأَنَا أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يُونُسَ بْنِ مَطَرِ بْنِ صَالِحِ بْنِ بَشْرِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ

إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْفَرَبَرِيُّ بِقِرَاءَةٍ عَلَيْهِ وَأَنَا أَسْمَعُ فِي شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْأُولَى
 سَنَةِ أَنْبَأَنَا الْإِمَامُ الْحَافِظُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَمْعَانَ بْنِ
 الْمُغِيرَةِ بْنِ الْأَخْثَفِ الْجَعْفِيِّ مَوْلَاهُ الْبُخَارِيُّ بِصَحِيحِ مَرْزُورِيِّ
 بِقِرَاءَتِهِ ثَمَانٍ وَارْبَعِينَ وَمَرَّةً سَبْعِينَ وَقَالَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ
 ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَتِيقُ بْنُ بَالِقِ أَنْبَأَنَا أَبُو الْوَقْتِ أَخْبَرَنَا الدَّادُودِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا
 الْحَمَوِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا الْفَرَبَرِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا الْبُخَارِيُّ الْأَمْرُ الثَّانِي أَنَّ أَصْلَ سَمَاعٍ
 الْوَقْتُ بِمَحَاكَةِ الشَّيْخِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ التَّغَنَّا طَلْحِي الَّذِي سَمِعَ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ فِي
 الْوَقْتِ بِبِلَادِ حَرَّاسَانَ بِقِرَاءَةِ الْإِمَامِ الْحَافِظِ أَبِي سَعْدٍ عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ بْنِ
 مَنصُورِ الشَّعْبَانِيِّ فَإِنَّهُ سَمِعَ مِنْ رِوَايَةِ كَرِيمَةِ الْمَرْزُورِيَّةِ وَقَدْ جُمِعَ فِيهِ
 بَيْنَ رِوَايَتِي أَبِي الْوَقْتِ وَكَرِيمَةَ فَعَيَّنْتُ بِرِوَايَةِ أَبِي ذَرٍّ لِأَنَّهُ أَخْبَرَنَا
 وَهُوَ أَبُو الْهَيْثَمِ شَيْخُ كَرِيمَةِ الْمَرْزُورِيَّةِ وَقَدْ خَالَفَ كَرِيمَةَ الْمَرْزُورِيَّةَ فِي
 رِوَايَتِهِمَا عَنِ الْكُتْمَاءِ الْحَافِظِ أَبِي ذَرٍّ فِي أَنْبَاءٍ مِنْ رِوَايَتِهِ عَنِ الْإِمَامِ
 أَبِي الْهَيْثَمِ الْكُشَمِيرِيِّ وَالْأَصْلُ الَّذِي قَابَلْتُ بِهِ مِنْ طَرِيقِ أَبِي ذَرٍّ هُوَ
 مَسْمُوعٌ عَلَى الشَّيْخِ الْإِمَامِ الشُّفَعَاءِ الْعَالِمِ الْفَقِيهِ الْمُسْنَدِ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ الْخَزَنَدَرِيِّ
 عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحُوطِيَّةِ عَنِ الشَّيْخِ الْفَقِيهِ الْعَالِمِ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَنصُورِ
 الْحَضَرِيِّ عَنِ الشَّيْخِ الْفَقِيهِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ عَبْدِ الْحَكِيمِ بْنِ أَبِي سَعْدٍ عَنِ الْحَافِظِ
 أَبِي ذَرٍّ لَهْرَوِيِّ وَهِيَ نُسْخَةٌ صَحِيحَةٌ مُعْتَمَدَةٌ بِمَا جَدَّ قَالَ الْإِمَامُ الْحَافِظُ
 الْعَارِفُ الزَّاهِدُ الْعَابِدُ أَبُو اسْحَقَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْأَزْهَرِ الْقُرْبَرِيُّ الشَّيْخُ هَذَا
 النُّسخَةَ مِنْ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ مُفْرَعٌ لِلْجَمْعِ إِلَيْهِ بِصَحِيحِ الْوَقْتِ وَأَنْبَأَنَا أَمَّا الْأَصْلُ
 الْمَعْرُوفُ إِلَى الْأَهْوَاسِيِّ فَإِنَّهُ وَقَفَ فِي مَدْرَسَةِ شَيْخِ الْحَافِظِ ضِيَاءِ الدِّينِ
 أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْوَّاحِدِ الْمُفَرِّقِيِّ وَعَلِيهِ الْحَافِظُ ابْنُ خَلْفِ الْحَافِظِ
 أَبِي عَمْرٍو سَعْدِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ الْعَمَرِيِّ وَهُوَ أَيْضًا صَحِيحٌ تَقَرَّرَ عَلَيْهِ بِمَحَاكِلِ
 النَّبَاهَةِ وَالْبَصِيحَةِ وَأَمَّا الْأَصْلُ الْمَعْرُوفُ إِلَى الْحَافِظِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ الْوَقْتِ ثَمَانِ
 عَلَى بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ هَبَّ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَسَاكَرٍ فَإِنَّهُ أَصْلُ سَمَاعٍ وَقَدْ سَمِعَ عَلَيْهِ
 غَيْرَ مَرَّةٍ وَأَمَّا الْأَصْلُ الْمَعْرُوفُ إِلَى الْحَافِظِ أَبِي سَعْدٍ الشَّعْبَانِيِّ فَإِنَّهُ أَصْلُ
 أَصْبَدٍ وَهُوَ أَخَذَ أَصُولَ سَمَاعَاتِ دِمَشْقِ الْحَمْرُوسَةِ وَحَرَّاسَانَ
 رَدَّهَا اللَّهُ إِلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَهُوَ قَدْ سَمِعَ عَلَى جَمَاعَةٍ مِنَ الْحَافِظِ وَسَمِعَ طَرِيقَ

9a

السلفي اجازة عن الامام الى الفضل عبا عن اجازة قال القاضي عياض اخبرني
القاضي الشهيد ابو علي الحسين بن محمد الصدقي عن القاضي ابي الوليد
سليمان بن خلف الباجي عن ابي ذر رجه الله تعالى واهم القهر رسة
الباركة الدالة على الخلاف الواقع في بعض حروف من المجامع الصحيح للزلي
لاشكال عنها رجم الله من اعشى بجمعها واسكنه تسبيح جنته و
اعاد عليا وعلى المسلمين من بركته امين علقه محمد بن

الحسن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحمن البدراني

عفا الله عنه في يوم الخميس حادي

عشر جمادى الاولى سنة

لطف الله به في التدارين

وختم له بخير

امين امين

امين

وصلى الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم

تسليما امين

الذي من الحفاظ واخبرني لابي ذر على هذا الشكل علامة لان غلب
النسبة الى بلده فلا يقال الا الحافظ المروى ولا يصح من هكذا لانه
سليم النسبة الى بلده وهو ازيل فقلت الى الصاد وعلمت على الزلي
الحافظ الذي مشي مؤرخ الشام من هكذا لانه لا يقال له الا ابن عساكر
قال ابن السمعاني فاحترت له الظاء بالحفظه وانسابه وتقدمه
الزلي فليكن ذلك وكذلك زعموا وقع الخلاف في حرف واحد من كلمة
الزلي في اصل سماعي فقالوا في غيره وقال بالواو او بالكسب وتو
الخلاف المختلف فيه فقط ورقعت فرقة اولى جائله بالحرف الـ
سطح عليه وكذلك اذا كان الخلاف في الباء والتاء او غير ذلك من الحروف
فما اخبرني بالمجامع الصحيح من رواية الامام الحافظ ابي عبد الله الاصيل
الذي اخبرني سيدي ومولاي والدي ابو عبد الله محمد رجه الله اذنا
والشيخ الثقة المشد ابو طاهر بركات بن ابراهيم بن طاهر بن
ابن الحشوي اجازة اخبرنا الشيخ الامام ابو محمد عبد الرحمن
الحسين عتاب اذنا اخبرني والدي عن احمد بن ثابت الواسطي و
ابن الاصيل عن ابي زيد محمد بن احمد المروزي وابي محمد يوسف
خلف كلهما عن الفريسي قال ابو محمد عبد الرحمن ابو محمد بن عتاب
عن المجامع الصحيح ابو عبد الله بن بنات اجازة عن لاصبي و
ابن الحافظ ابي القسم مؤرخ الشام للمجامع الصحيح فحدثني بها
الشيخ الشدي المكي بن علي بن القيس وزيين المشاء بحق سماع
خلفا من الاماء من عهده مؤرخ الشام وهذا الرسم الذي شرت
بخطه مصفا الى رواية الحافظ ابي ذر فهو رسم روايتي في الاصل الذي
الحافظ ابو سعيد عبد الكريم بن السماني عن ابي الوقت واما في
داري على هذه النسخة للنسبة الى الحافظ ابي ذر ليحقق ضبطها وتحريها
الشيخ الحافظ ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن ازهر الصرمي من جودة
التي لمع في الجاه اليه وان حالها النسخة التي في الوفاء السني ساطي
رسمها وقد اخبرني نازلا برواية الحافظ ابي ذر بذكر اجاب
شيخ المقرن ابو جعفر الخزاز اجازة عن الحافظ ابي طاهر السلفي

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